NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXXXVII.

APRIL, 1835.

ART. I. — *Politics of Europe.*

Words of a Believer. — Translated from the French of F. DE LA MENNAIS. New York. Charles de Behr. 1834.

WE are glad to find that a good translation has been made of the *Paroles d'un Croyant.* It is a work of great power and interest. Its character is chiefly political, and it relates particularly to the present state of things in France. It is written in the style of the Hebrew prophets, and in the form of visions contains the most violent denunciations of kings. An uncommon dignity is conferred upon the work by the sentiments of deep religious faith with which it abounds, and which would seem to place it far above the common standard of democratic writings in Europe.

Much doubt, however, has been expressed with regard to the sincerity of the author. In 1829, the Abbé de la Mennais was called, in the English periodicals, 'the Apostle of Royalism.' He was the firm adherent of the Bourbons, and seemed to entertain a degree of reverence for abstract royalism. He appeared to be filled with that sentiment which is called loyalty, and which is little understood here; — a blind attachment to the person and family of the sovereign, existing perhaps as strongly in many who have never even seen him,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as in those who have been bred in his presence, — a feeling originating in a high quality of the mind, but leading not unfrequently to disastrous consequences. Thus we judge the Abbé de la Mennais to have felt, and thus he was described by the liberal journals, during the reign of Charles X. And now, in 1833, only four years after being distinguished as the apostle of royalism, he publishes a work of the most inflammatory nature, instigating his countrymen to declare perpetual war against kings, and tracing to the wickedness of monarchs all the ills with which the land is filled, and under which Europe is groaning.

Whether he be sincere or not, we do not pretend to judge; loyalty is generally too deep a feeling to be speedily changed. Yet we are of opinion that enough has occurred in France and throughout the continent, since the commencement of 1830, fairly to account for many changes in men's sentiments; and we are ready enough to believe, that the feelings expressed in this work have flowed from an honest mind. A cry of indignation and anguish comes wafted on the chilling blast from Siberia; a voice rises from the flames of Poland, from the dungeons of Austria, from the tombs of the slaughtered citizens of France, and repeats in awful tones the lesson, 'Put not your trust in Princes;' and all men of free and noble minds will catch the sound and repeat its echoes.

It matters little to us, however, whether the work in question be the result of disappointed ambition or of generous and manly feeling; there is enough in the present condition of France, to account for the appearance of such a book, without looking farther for the motives of the author. It is chiefly interesting to us who dwell at a distance, as one of the most remarkable signs of the times. Such books are not the result of ordinary circumstances; they never appear in times of tranquillity, of peaceful subjection or established freedom. It is only when the battle is to be fought between oppression and liberty, when principles are unsettled, when rights are claimed but unacknowledged, and the colossal shadow of power is advancing with its blighting influences, that these dark signs and omens are displayed, announcing times of confusion and war, and 'with fear of change perplexing monarchs.'

Such is the present state of things in France. Though the government is strong, and the king sits perhaps as firmly on his throne as any monarch in Christendom, there is still going

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on in that country a mighty revolution, which commenced at least a century ago, and will not perhaps be finished for a century to come; a revolution in the mind and character of the people. Historians commit a great error in giving us the results of a revolution, for the revolution itself. A civil war, a change of dynasty, or even of the form of a government, the elevation of one prince, or the death or banishment of another, do not constitute a revolution: they are only its results; its origin and existence are in the mind of the people at large, and it continues as long as the change is there taking place. To the philosophical observer the revolution of France commenced as early as the reign of Louis XIV.; and it has proceeded with unimpeded step through the successive years to the present time. The tragic reign of Louis XVI., the horrors of the republic, the romantic career of Napoleon, the restoration, the exploits of July, the *émeutes* of the reign of Louis Philippe, are but different events in a great revolution, which, finding its origin in the character of the people, will not cease till the stormy elements of that character shall have subsided into harmony and peace. This is the only view of the French revolution, which can console us for the horrors by which it has been signalized.

In the minds of many, there is nothing to expiate its crimes, — no ray of light falls upon the dark picture of cruelty and suffering it discloses, — all is black with oppression and despair; and the time is regarded as an awful chasm in the history of man, cut off alike from the past and the future, teaching no lesson but the wickedness of our nature, the strength of the people wasted by its own violence, and the nation recovering at last from the delirium, like the raving Hercules, only to sit down and weep over its slaughtered children. These views are natural to men who witnessed the fearful days of the reign of terror; and we have deep sympathy and respect for the feelings of those who have uttered, in loud and indignant tones, their detestation of deeds which seemed to be the work of fiends rather than mortals; but we still have some doubt whether such persons are the best fitted to judge of the effects of these deeds. Few are disposed, at the moment when the tornado is passing over them, destroying their dwellings and ruining their harvest, to speculate upon the healthy atmosphere that will ensue, the increased fertility of their flooded fields, or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fair edifices which will rise from the ruins around them. All thought is absorbed in the terror of the moment. So it is with those who have lived in the midst of the hurricane of revolution; another generation must grow up before its good effects can be comprehended. But the time has now come, when it is beginning to be acknowledged that much good has been accomplished.

The American traveller, who for the first time passes over from England into France, is impressed with the fact, that a greater degree of personal freedom exists in the latter country. In France, the mighty families of olden time have been cut off; the peerage is a shadow; vast estates have been broken up and divided among independent landholders, republican simplicity has taken the place of aristocratic wealth. This is the work of the early revolution. Nor was it a work of time; the fetters were suddenly burst, and the people found themselves free; the doors of the dungeon were opened and the captive walked forth unrestrained, the whole earth before him, and none to direct or govern. To the nation it was apparent, when they first paused from their deeds of violence, that a mighty object was already accomplished. Their oppressors had vanished, their freedom was achieved. A vast gulf, never to be repassed, in whose wreck-strewed waves lay weltering staff and mitre, sceptre and diadem, now rolled between them and their bondage, and, like the emancipated people of old, they boldly sounded forth the anthem of liberty, though a wilderness of confusion and anarchy was before them.

The vast efforts which characterized the first revolution of France were not wasted. Even under the iron despotism of Napoleon, we can still discern their effects in the energies which bore him on to conquest. The tide of revolution was never rolled back upon itself; Napoleon had the genius to direct its course, and it wafted him onward to universal sway, but to check it was beyond his power. It was never to be checked; and France at his downfall, conquered and humbled, with the stranger encamped in her capital, and his legions polluting her soil, was still free; free through the blood that had been poured out in her early struggles; free because the spirit which had given rise to them was enshrined in the hearts of her children, and could never be quelled.

Much has been done by the French towards the establish-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of free institutions; but much still remains for them to do. The events of the present reign indicate but too plainly, that attempts may be successfully made to diminish their liberties; that they have yet much to learn in the great lesson of constitutional freedom; and that years must roll away, before their rights will be so fully appreciated and understood by them, as to leave no danger of their being usurped by their rulers.

A glance at the system of policy pursued since the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne, will throw some light upon the causes of that bitterness of feeling, displayed by the Abbé de la Mennais in his visions of the characters of kings. In judging of this system, we are not blind to the difficulties which await us. Never was a course of policy more ably and honestly defended; yet never was there an opposition, which enlisted in its ranks men of greater political experience and sagacity, or of purer patriotism. The system has been successful in accomplishing its objects; it has triumphed over all obstacles and restored tranquillity to France, while it has preserved the peace of Europe. The very circumstance of its triumph gives a prepossession in its favor. The sufferings and outraged feelings of the defeated party, the price of the victory, the good that has been left undone, the high hopes that are crushed, the ardent aspirations that are turned to sickness of heart, are forgotten in the splendor of the power which now holds almost undisputed sway over the destinies of France. On the other hand, the event of the system advocated by the opposition party is doubtful. In the opinion of many, the horrors of civil contention, arising from the attempts of the Carlists to restore the fallen dynasty, the flames of war spreading over the whole continent, accompanied by a series of bloody revolutions, and resulting a second time perhaps in the defeat of the French armies, the humiliating sight of the allied despots in the capital, and the still more humiliating restoration of the thrice ejected race, might have been the consequences of the course of policy which Lafayette would have adopted. The memory of the disasters which befel the republic is still fresh in the minds of many of the active men of the day; they recollect that the honor of France was only saved by one man; and that the same genius, which enabled him to rescue his country from the dangers which impended, afterwards placed him in the undisputed and unlimited control of her des-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tinies, and gave him the power to trample on her liberties; they remember the tears of patriots shed over the defeat of their dearest hopes, the groans of the aged from whom their last child had been torn to be murdered on the battle-field, the return of that branded and degraded family, forced back upon the revolting country which had purchased their exile in vain by forty years of bloodshed; and they beheld France in 1830, after the revolution, in much the same relation with regard to the other nations of Europe, that she held when Napoleon was first called to the command of her armies. The course advocated by the opposition, would, in their opinion, lead to very similar results, — a different system must be adopted, they would say, and this is precisely the one which has been followed, — the *juste milieu* between the exploded principles of legitimacy and the bold and hazardous career of Napoleon.

We shall endeavor, in the course of our article, to show that these apprehensions were ill-founded. But we would first ask, has the *juste milieu* system responded to the intentions of those who placed its authors in power? Has it answered the expectations of those noble spirits through whom the last revolution was achieved? Has it advanced the cause of liberty in France? Has it redeemed the solemn pledges which were given to the lovers of freedom throughout Europe, and over the whole world? In a word, have those who originated this system, fulfilled the destinies which were entrusted to them? If they have not, the system is a bad one and ought to be held up to reprobation. We are desirous that the course of policy, both internal and external, pursued in France, since the revolution of July, should be viewed as it deserves: the consideration of it involves some of the principles which are of vital importance to our own liberties, and we shall be pardoned, we trust, if we devote a few pages to the effort to place it in a proper point of view.

In the first place, then, it seems important to determine with whom the system originated. It was the general opinion after M. Casimir Perier was called to the presidency of the council, and up to the time of his death, that the *juste milieu* policy had been conceived and maintained by his talents; and not a few were expecting some marked change in the system upon the event of his death. To their surprise, however, the same course was continued with equal energy and success; and it soon became apparent to all reflecting persons, that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system had emanated from a higher source than the distinguished prime minister; that it had been devised and commenced previously to his appointment, and that a more skilful hand than his had held the reins of government. Nor was it long before the master-spirit was revealed. There was one, whose earlier days had been nurtured in the stern school of adversity; to whom the camp and the battle-field were as the routine of daily life; whom more than twenty years of exile, not passed like those of the banished monarchy, in the midst of the pomp and parade and flattery of pretended regal state, but in the realities of penury, flight, and concealment, had hardened into determined and adventurous manhood; who, hunted from land to land, wandering from the mountains of Switzerland to the dreary wastes of Lapland, and the northernmost cape of Europe, and finding no resting-place in the old world, had crossed the ocean, to be again schooled in the lessons of poverty and suffering in the new; and who, in his sojournings in many a foreign land, had acquired a profound insight into national character, an experience in judging of systems of government and anticipating great political events scarcely equalled, a calmness, perseverance, and courage in prosecuting his objects, which might have been the envy of the greatest statesmen that have lived; and who, anxious rather to conceal, than display, the extent of his political influence and sagacity, had been content with seeing his measures pursued, while the odium or the glory they created were alike indifferent to him. The death of Perier began to open the eyes of men to the true author of a system, which had been attributed solely to him. And a short time afterwards, when the bloody days of June had effected the final, decisive triumph of the administration, the smoke of the battle rolled away from the blood-stained streets of the metropolis, and with it, like a mist, rolled away the curtain which had hitherto veiled the throne, and revealed to astonished and baffled speculators the true founder of the *juste milieu* system, in the person of the king.

There were many, however, to whom this revelation afforded no surprise. To keen and experienced observers, it was obvious that the system had been struck out and adopted, before Perier was called to the ministry. A statesman such as Louis Philippe has proved himself, (and he is now generally allowed to be one of the first of the age,) was not to be influenced in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his projects, intentions, or policy by a change of ministers; he was not a man to be governed by circumstances. With experience and talent enough to discover, almost at a glance, the whole situation of his country at the moment of his accession to the throne, and with decision and courage enough to fix upon a plan which appeared to him suited to the state of things, it was not to be expected that he should yield himself to the advice and direction of ministers, accordingly as one party or the other should gain the ascendency. He saw at once, that his only safety depended upon the resolute adoption of some clearly defined system of policy, not to be abandoned till necessity should compel him. It is by no means improbable, that the course to be pursued in the event of his accession to the throne, had been decided upon by Louis Philippe even before the revolution. It must have been obvious to him, that a change was approaching, and might take place at any convenient moment; and though the folly and madness of the king, which immediately caused the revolution of July, could not, perhaps, have been anticipated, still it was not difficult to perceive that the retrograde policy of the monarch must be finally checked, and that the reaction would be powerful in proportion to the obstinacy with which this policy was continued. It was obvious that Louis Philippe was likely to be called to the head of the government in the event of a revolution, or at least, that this event was not improbable; and the omission on the part of the fallen dynasty to secure his person, is spoken of by political writers as one of the numerous proofs of that extraordinary blindness, with which the administration appeared to be struck on this momentous occasion.

Could a new Chamber of Deputies have been elected immediately after the events of July, it is very likely a different policy might have been adopted. In the enthusiasm of the moment, it is not improbable that there would have been returns from nearly all France, of men who would have united in one great party, at the head of which would have been Lafayette, Dupont de l'Eure, Lafitte, Odillon Barrot, and others of that stamp, whose measures it would have been vain for the Duke of Orleans, even if he had been called to the throne, to oppose or attempt to direct. But the Chamber had been already elected but a short time before the close of the reign of Charles; and though composed of a large majority of men liberal for the time, it was still not prepared for the opin-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ions of the liberal party, which made its appearance at the moment of the revolution. They were men who, if the reign of Charles had continued, would have constituted a powerful, honest, and independent opposition, or more probably they would have gained the ascendency, and a ministry would have been selected from their number; but after the revolution, they were not ready to meet the bold views of Lafayette and his party. They were completely *juste milieu* men, and the king whom they had made, manifested his sagacity in devising a system which, while it was adapted to the views of a majority in the Chamber, and would be likely to receive their support, was the one which appeared the safest for himself and the best suited to his capacities. We do not mean, however, to convey the idea, that if the king had determined to follow the counsels of the more liberal party, he would have been opposed by this Chamber. They were in a complete state of doubt and uncertainty; they wanted equally the decided views of those, who now eagerly looked forward to the emancipation of all Europe as the result of their own glorious struggle, and as the great work which was before them to do, and the fixed partialities, on the other hand, of those who were still desirous of restoring the fallen dynasty. They would probably have been ready to give their support to a much bolder policy than that actually adopted by the king, but they were not likely to originate any system of themselves. With such a Chamber, it was easy for the king to choose that course which seemed best to himself; and he alone, therefore, must be considered responsible for the one which was adopted.

His first object was to employ every means to fix himself firmly on the throne. He accordingly, in the letters which he addressed to the different sovereigns announcing his accession, assumed a style more becoming a suppliant tributary than the monarch of a first-rate power. The passionate impotence of the Duke of Modena, who returned his letter unopened, could be received with a smile; yet that smile, had it rested on the lip of Napoleon, might have cost the duke his principality. But the cringing letter of Louis Philippe to the Emperor of Austria, in which he speaks of the glorious revolution of July as a catastrophe, and the haughty reply of the autocrat, were alike degrading to the national honor of France, and insulting to the feelings of freemen throughout the world.

The next act which disgraced the administration was the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abandonment of the Spanish refugees. Several hundreds of them, after the revolution of July, flocked into France, where they received money and passports for Spain. Two of the ministers, MM. Guizot and Montalivet, had personal interviews with some of them, the result of which was that they resolved again to attempt the recovery of their liberties. And what was the consequence? They were abandoned to the mercy of a monarch, who refused to recognise the revolution of July, and the king whom it had placed upon the throne, "and whose prime-minister (says M. Sarrans in his Life of Lafayette) had addressed a circular to all the authorities of the kingdom, most insulting to Louis Philippe and hostile to the principles of July." "The brother of the unhappy Riego expelled from Paris, Torrijos, the old Lope de Calderon, the noble Pinto, and fifty others, martyrs of liberty, forced into the snare and assassinated without trial on the part of Spain, without remonstrance on the part of France, who had placed arms in their hands." Such were the consequences of the trust, which these victims reposed in the good faith of the government of the barricades.

The first cabinet was of short duration; it quailed before the fierce spirits of Paris, and retired from office, not daring, as is supposed, to incur the responsibilities attendant upon the impending trial of the ex-ministers. The new cabinet enlisted, however, several of the same members, with Lafitte for its president. It was during his administration that the system adopted by the king began to show a decisive character, though it was still concealed from the public. Before the expiration of five months, the patriotic and generous prime-minister, the long-tried friend of the king, who had sacrificed a princely fortune for the good of his country, discovered that he was no longer in the confidence of the king and the other members of the cabinet. His honest views were thwarted, his plans countermined, his measures palsied. Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure had already been driven to resign, by the action of a system utterly opposed to their views. "And the result of these two resignations," says M. Pepin, one of the most zealous defenders of Louis Philippe, "was to cause the moderate element, (that is the *juste milieu*,) to triumph in the cabinet as it had triumphed in the Chamber." The immediate cause of Lafitte's resignation is said to have been this. On the 5th of March, a courier arrived at the hotel of M. Sebas-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tiani, minister of foreign affairs, with a despatch from Marshal Maison, the ambassador of France at the court of Vienna. The despatch contained these remarkable words. "I am now convinced, that in order to avert the dangers which threaten France, it is necessary without delay, and before the levies of Austria can be organized, to take the first step in the war, and throw an army into Piedmont." This important communication was withheld from the president of the council for two days after its arrival; and it was only upon his urgent demand, when he had accidentally heard of its having come to hand, that he was permitted to read it. This want of confidence on the part of the king and the minister of foreign affairs, showed Lafitte that it was time for him to withdraw from the cabinet; and he immediately sent in his resignation. It was evident, that the king or his cabinet had adopted already a system opposed to his own and to that of the friends of freedom, who had ranged themselves under the banners of Lafayette. And even at this time a name was not wanting to the system. The king, in his reply to a deputation from Gaillac, in January, had used the following words. "We will endeavor to keep ourselves in a just medium *(juste milieu)* equally distant from the abuses of royal power and from the excesses of popular power." "And in those words," says M. Pepin, "was unfolded an entire system in which the king prides himself."

Casimir Perier was now called to the presidency of the council, and the system in which the king prided himself, was at once openly avowed and vindicated. A powerful opposition appeared against it, but unequal to its supporters in numbers. At the head of this party were the Lafayettes, Odillon Barrot, Dupont de l'Eure, Lamarque and others, whose names are identified with liberty over the whole earth. The *juste milieu* however prevailed. The elective franchise was tampered with, and finally so established, that the thirty-two millions who people the soil of France, afford at the highest estimate but about two hundred thousand voters. The Belgian revolution had already broken out, and the troops of Holland were driven from every hold in the country except the citadel of Antwerp, from which their cannon threatened destruction to the fairest city in Belgium. An armistice succeeded, while the cunning Talleyrand was wasting his time at the conference of London, in endeavoring to arrange by articles and protocols, an affair that was becoming ridiculous by its long

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continuance, and which a single word from the king of France might have settled. But the *juste milieu* system must be persevered in. The Duke of Nemours was refused to the Belgians for their king, and it was not till more than a year afterwards, when the great powers had evinced in the clearest manner possible, that nothing could drive them to a war, that a *quasi* pledge of support was given to Belgium in the person of a princess of France, and the French cannon turned against the citadel of Antwerp, from whose walls the nation had so long been mocked by the troops of the king of Holland.

Meantime, the revolution burst out in Poland, and that fine people were left to fight their battles unaided, against the overwhelming power of Russia. It is needless to recall the brilliant exploits, the dazzling victories, the sad defeats, and the ruin and desolation which ensued in that unhappy war. No helping hand was extended by France; no voice of encouragement was offered. The struggle was at length over, and the stillness of death succeeded. And then the French minister of foreign affairs dared to insult the nation by the formal declaration, that "*order reigns in Warsaw.*" Yes! the order that reigns over the blackened and smoking ruin, — the order of the tomb and the charnel house, — the order of death.

The insurrections in Italy were not more successful nor better sustained by the aid of France. A few troops were thrown into Ancona, only to elicit the enthusiasm of the people at the sight of their tri-colored flag, — to show that Austria was unwilling to be drawn into a war on any condition, — to be insulted by the pope and ignominiously withdrawn; while not an arm was raised to check the operation of that bloody edict of Cardinal Albani. Thus ended the last struggle for liberty in Europe; and the monarch of France sat smiling on his throne, while tyranny was triumphantly striding over the continent, and the victims of its cruelty were stretching forth their hands in vain to him whose duty it was to rescue them.

The strength of the government was now increasing; eleven millions of francs per annum were voted by the obsequious Chambers for the civil list, to that citizen king who had solemnly promised to dispense with any such provision. The insurrections at Lyons, Grenoble and other cities in the south of France, were quelled by the standing army; and the national guard, that early object of jealousy and terror, was disbanded throughout a large portion of the kingdom. Finally,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

came the battles of the 5th and 6th of June 1832, to establish beyond a question the power of the administration. Up to this time, some outrage in Paris had marked every month of Louis Philippe's reign. But the battles of June were more than a common *émeute*. Had the insurgents succeeded, the affair might, perhaps, have been called another glorious revolution; as it resulted, it is characterized, and probably with justice, as a mad rebellion. We shall not attempt to offer any excuse for those who were in arms against the government on this occasion. We hold in abhorrence this hasty appeal to arms, which characterizes the inhabitants of Paris; and we believe that although it was provoked by the jealous severity of the police, it was still unjustifiable on every ground. But we reflect with sorrow and indignation upon the vindictive measures of the government, upon that occasion. When we think of the bloody victory that was gained, — of that awful tragedy in the parish of St. Méry, where two hundred young men from the schools of Paris had entrenched themselves in a house, upon which the veteran Soult, commanding in person, was pouring the cross fire of artillery from two streets; when we remember their desperate resistance, their cries of liberty or death as they met the invading troops, or threw themselves in reckless despair from the windows upon the bristling bayonets beneath; when we think of how much was lost to their country in this profitless warfare; when our imagination turns to their homes, over which a blight has come forever, to the tears of their mothers, to the gray hairs which have been brought down in sorrow to the grave, and when we remember who was the author of this bloody drama, we can feel some sympathy with the denunciations of the Abbé de la Mennais.

The victory of St. Méry was followed up by military law established in the capital, crowds swept away to the prisons to linger unheard of for months, trials instituted without number, schools broken up; the finest portion of the national guard disbanded, and a despotic police pervading the city, breaking into the printing-offices, and violating domestic retirement. Despotism never used a more effective tool than Louis Philippe found in his prefect of police, Gisquet. Deceitful, cowardly, vindictive, he was the proper person to persecute the vanquished, to render their imprisonment wretched, to trample the populace still lower. "Your husband is one of those wretches whom I will exterminate," was his answer to a poor

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woman far advanced in pregnancy, who had come to the office of the police to inquire for her husband, who had been hurried with the crowd into the indiscriminate prison.

Thus was the power of the government established. Many months elapsed before any serious disturbances took place in Paris, — and these, together with the renewed insurrections in Lyons, were readily quelled. The capture of the Duchess of Berri in la Vendeé, put an end to the war in that province; and the circumstances which occurred during her imprisonment, threw such ridicule upon herself and the whole party, that they have never seriously disturbed the peace of the country since that time. The opposition generally has been declining. The last returns to the Chambers gave an overwhelming majority in favor of the administration; and the few patriots, who still gathered round the standard of French liberty, were left to mourn in silence over their fallen hopes, or to offer their unavailing resistance to the encroachments of arbitrary power.

At this moment of humiliation and sorrow to all true lovers of freedom, it pleased the Almighty arbiter of human destinies to call to himself that distinguished patriot and hero, whose name has been the watchword of liberty in two worlds for the last half century. We shall not venture, in this place, to offer any eulogy upon Lafayette. The record of his noble deeds, his dazzling career, his stern integrity, his invincible fortitude, is engraved in ineffaceable characters on the heart of every true American. His noblest triumph was the heartfelt welcome of a nation; his highest eulogy its universal mourning. He has been called away when the measure of his destiny was full; and the work assigned him to do on the earth was accomplished. He has been removed from a scene, which would have harrowed up his feelings and embittered his life, and where his efforts would have been without avail, to the land of peace. But, alas, for the suffering country he has left! she has lost the best friend of her liberties, — the steadiest foe of her tyrants. Alas, for the exiles from every land, who felt that while Lafayette lived, they still had a home; they are again scattered, and wanderers on the face of the earth, — their friend, their protector, their father is gone, — and the cup of their bereavement is full.

We have thus endeavored to set forth in a hasty sketch, the principal features of the *juste milieu* system, and to show that its real author is the king.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Still it will be said that this system, though odious and deplorable, is, on the whole, the best that could have been devised for the actual state of the country. The usual arguments in favor of the system are, 1st. That it has saved Europe from a series of the most disastrous wars and frightful revolutions, while it has maintained tranquillity at home, strengthened the government, destroyed the hopes of the exiled party, and prevented the recurrence of that frightful licentiousness which blackened the cause of the early revolution. 2d. That no pledge of assistance had been given to Poland or any other nation in Europe, which should attempt to assert its rights.

As to the first of these reasons, it appears by no means certain, that a bolder policy on the part of France would have led to a general war in Europe. The position of the country with regard to the other powers of the continent was very different from what it had been when war was declared by Louis XVI. The despots of Russia, Austria and Prussia, had then much to learn, — and the lesson was taught them in a manner never to be forgotten. They had then, for the first time, to experience what efforts the awakened liberties of a people can make; how vain is the attempt to conquer them, how impossible it is to roll back the tide of freedom when it comes on in its power. They then vainly hoped that the old order of things might be restored; that a conquering army could bend back the minds of an enfranchised people to the yoke; that the *fiat* of an emperor could conjure up the departed form of despotism, or breathe the breath of life into its mangled remains. They had yet to learn that when a great nation has become inspired with the love of liberty, all the power on earth cannot force it back to subjection; it may be conquered, annihilated, but not enslaved. The people of Europe, also, had then a great lesson to learn from the French nation. They were to be taught that they have rights which no man may violate, — that it is their duty to assert these rights, — that their condition in the scale of being may be raised above the rank to which it has been forced down, — that freedom is not the dream of antiquity, a school-boy's tale, but a living, enkindling, exalting reality, which it belongs to them to grasp. All these things had been learned by the nations of Europe before the revolution of July. The humbled monarchs had yielded and fled before the idol of a *people* mad with liberty; — they had seen that Europe could not bound their energies and their ambition;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they had felt their power, and they well knew that, had not the idol of a conquering *people* betrayed his enthusiastic worshippers, they would never have been overcome. They had indeed been conquered, but not till they had propagated the doctrines of *freedom* throughout the continent. That name, which it was impiety to utter when it was first heard, had now become the sacred watch-word of patriots; it had been wafted to the distant regions of Poland and Lithuania, it had penetrated to Sweden and Norway, spread itself over the vast extent of Germany, and revived with more than classic ardor on the hallowed soil of Italy. The Austrian trembled on his throne at its portentous sound, and the Russian autocrat was not deaf to it in the capital of his forefathers. Still the French people has been finally conquered; the ancient dynasty had been forced back upon them, and the old order of things did, in some sort, appear to be restored. Europe was slumbering in tranquillity, when the calm was broken as by a peal of thunder. The revolution of July came not merely to vindicate the assaulted rights of a people; it had a higher destiny than this; it exalted the very character of liberty itself; it showed that this divine principle has a power of life which is beyond the reach of tyrants; that it cannot be destroyed; that although it may seem for a time to be extinguished, it will blaze forth with tenfold power at some moment when it may least be expected.

It would be difficult to describe the amazement and consternation, which seized the various governments of Europe at the news of this ominous event. Their terror was manifest to the most careless observer; the very hirelings of tyranny, the lowest menials of legitimacy reflected, in their pallid countenances, the panic which filled the hearts of their masters. Then it was seen how futile are congresses of monarchs and intrigues of cabinets, how powerless are paper treaties, how like the merest cobweb are the cunning contrivances of diplomatists, when compared with the power of a people who have once known what it is to be free.

In this state of general consternation, we are of opinion that, had France assumed a menacing attitude, Russia would gladly have compounded for her own tranquillity, by complying with the long neglected articles of the treaty of Vienna in respect to the independence of Poland, and that Austria would have removed some portion, at least, of the intolerable burden im-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posed upon Lombardy and the Papal states. We do not believe that a war would have ensued, had France insisted strenuously on the recognition of the rights of these two countries, for, as the event has proved, there never was a time when the great powers evinced a stronger reluctance to a war, than since the last French revolution. Notwithstanding the pacific disposition of France, there have been since, July, 1830, so many occasions which might have led to a war, and fifty years before would have done so, and which nevertheless have been suffered to pass unnoticed, or have been adjusted by diplomacy, hat the skill of politicians in predicting the future has been completely baffled. That the Emperor of Russia should have remained at rest, while his kinsman of Holland was driven step by step from Belgium, till not a foot of earth was left in that province which he could call his own, that Austria should have put up tamely with the defiance at Ancona, that the northern powers should have looked on quietly while one strong-hold of legitimacy was destroyed in Portugal, and that they should have suffered the constitutional cause to make head in Spain, without raising an arm to arrest its progress, are facts for which no precedent, we believe, can be found in the past history of Europe.

That the great powers had reason to be alarmed, and that a war would have been almost ruinous to them, there can be no reason to doubt. They were well aware that liberal principles had been disseminated throughout the continent; that a restless spirit was at work and that the mass of the people was moved by it; they felt that the doctrines of legitimacy had been undermined, and that their thrones rested upon a hollow foundation. Their apprehensions were well-grounded; in a few days after they received the tidings of the French revolution, the flames burst forth in Belgium, and again with redoubled fury in Poland. A war with France, they well knew, would only extend the mischief. A series of revolutions would have ensued, the most fearful, perhaps, that the earth ever witnessed; the continent would have been deluged with blood, and empires and kingdoms, states and principalities, confounded in one common ruin. The consequences of such a war, it appears to us, were vastly more to be dreaded by the three great powers, than by France.

It is a common argument against such a course of policy, that a war would have led inevitably to insurrection at home,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which in all probability would have resulted in the overthrow of the government. These fears we believe to be without sufficient foundation. Upon the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne, the nation was divided into three great parties. The first of these was represented by Lafayette, and was foremost in the cause of liberal principles. Their watch-word was non-intervention, and their great principle was, that no power should be allowed to interfere with the spread of the cause of freedom. That Austria, for instance, should not be suffered to interpose between the Pope and his subjects in the northern legations, who were struggling for their rights. Their motives were pure and their designs benevolent and noble. They had none of the ambition, the grasping of power, and the love of conquest which characterized Napoleon. They never desired war, save in behalf of a people suffering from tyranny, and struggling to be free; nor did they wish to interfere till this struggle had actually begun. They offered nothing but their own splendid example, to induce any nation to throw off the yoke; they deprecated as much as any one the effects of a war, but they believed that there were considerations of a higher import than the maintenance of peace.

The next party, if indeed it can be so named, consisted of the *juste milieu* men. They were represented in the Chamber by those men whom we have already described, as decidedly liberal, had the reign of Charles continued, but who still were not ready to join heartily with the more liberal party which the revolution formed. They would not have offered any resistance had the king decided upon a bolder policy; but they, with equal or greater readiness, fell in with the prudent measures which he actually adopted. This party was probably the largest in the kingdom; yet this circumstance is of smaller consequence from the consideration, that the decision of the king would have carried with it large numbers, and the policy which he should have adopted, would, undoubtedly, have had the support of a majority from among this party.

The third great party consisted of the Carlists, the declared partisans of the fallen dynasty. This party enlisted in its ranks a large number of removed office-holders, who, having lost their support, were ready to do anything to restore the former state of things. Besides these, were numbers who adhered to the Bourbons from true loyalty, and finally, a few miserable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slaves, whom fifty years' experience had taught nothing of freedom, and who, now hugging the links of their broken chains, were longing for servitude again.

Much was apprehended from this party in case of a war. But the event seems to have proved that these apprehensions were groundless. When we remember the total want of enthusiasm with which the Duchess of Berri was received in the southern provinces, and in every part of France which she traversed, except the province of La Vendée, the very trifling effect which the war in that quarter produced, especially when compared with the outrages of the opposite party in Paris and Lyons, and which were occasioned by the *juste milieu* system, and when we recollect that in the end, this dreaded party was rendered powerless by the shame which a silly woman had cast upon it, we cannot but believe that the Carlist party was too contemptible to have been taken into consideration in deciding upon the policy to be pursued by the cabinet of Louis Philippe. In choosing a bolder system, the government at any rate would have only had to encounter the violence of this party; whereas the *juste milieu* system ensured the opposition of two different parties, the Liberals and the Carlists; and on one occasion, one deplorable occasion, was witnessed the unholy coalition of the two, in arms against the government. In the event then of a war, we firmly believe that the administration would have had less opposition to contend with at home, than the *juste milieu* system actually encountered. It will perhaps be objected to this argument, that we have made no mention of the republican party from which the government had more to fear than from any other; that this party, which has been the terror of the king, which undoubtedly produced the great disturbances in Paris, and the southern cities of France, and was only repressed by a powerful armed force, would have proved too strong for the government, if the army had been employed in foreign service. We reply to these remarks, that republicanism, as a party, hardly existed in France at the commencement of the present reign. Lafayette, the foremost of the liberal party, was convinced that the time was not yet come for a republic in France; and nearly the whole of his party agreed with him in this opinion. The name of republicanism was full of terror to a large portion of the best citizens of France, and was only popular with a few. The liberal party were completely satisfied, all but an inconsiderable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

number of reckless spirits, with a constitutional monarchy. But the contemptible policy of the *juste milieu* actually formed a republican party, by no means insignificant for numbers or talent. Wearied with the exhibition of king-craft, sick with deferred hopes and maddened with oppression, thousands, who would have formed the noblest support of a true citizen king, and a throne based upon constitutional principles, were driven into the ranks of ultra-opposition, and became the dread and scourge of the administration. Had the system of Lafayette been adopted, the republicans, as a party, would have had no considerable power, and the king would have received the support of two parties, embracing by far the greatest portion of the talent and wealth, as well as the physical power of the kingdom. When we take into account, also, the number of paupers to whom a war would have given employment, and the amount of industry which it would have put into operation, we feel confident that domestic troubles would have been very trifling in the event of a general war. The allied powers feared nothing, then, so much as war; and with good reason; while on the other hand, they were reasonably expecting and dreading a commencement of hostilities on the part of France.

The position of France, at the moment immediately succeeding the revolution of July, is undoubtedly one of the most brilliant in her history. With the finest army in Europe, completely equipped, a flourishing commerce, the treasury enriched by the spoils of recent conquest, standing foremost in the cause of freedom and rejoicing in recovered liberty, we behold her occupying a more exalted condition, than when Napoleon had led her on to the plenitude of dominion. We reflect with heartfelt emotion upon the glorious power which she then might have exerted. She had but to speak the word, and the dungeons, where the martyrs of liberty were pining, would have been thrown open; at the touch of her hand, the chains would have fallen from the captive. Freedom and happiness awaited her footsteps, and emancipated nations would have shouted her name in accents of enthusiastic gratitude. These were the splendid destinies for which she was apparently reserved. But they have not been fulfilled.

The second argument in defence of the *juste milieu* is, that no pledges had been given by the government to support Poland or Italy. Whether official promises had been sent, or not, we cannot pretend to decide. The fact was confidently

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asserted by the opposition, though strongly denied by the administration. But we believe that pledges of a higher nature than written declarations or treaties had been given, not only to Poland and Italy, but to the lovers of freedom throughout Europe. The revolution of July was the most solemn pledge that could have been offered; it came, not from a king and a cabinet, but a whole nation offered with their shouts of triumph, and sealed by their blood, not the result of diplomatic skill, but of ardent and elevated enthusiasm, the outpouring of unalloyed and noble sentiment. And thus it was received by the nations of Europe. They saw that it was for the interest of the liberal cause to do everything to increase itself; that the friends of liberty have a common cause; that the ordinary principles of national safety would make such a combination desirable to France, and not comprehending the possibility of such a system as the *juste milieu*, two nations fearlessly rose up in arms to assert their rights. They were disappointed in their expectations, though they reasoned upon just grounds; they knew by what sort of men the revolution of July had been achieved; they were familiar with their sentiments and principles, and well knew what to expect from them. That the king whom they had raised to the throne, and the cabinet which proceeded from their numbers, should betray the principles which they were called to support, and the party to which they owed their political existence, was beyond the reach of human foresight to predict. The pledge might not have been written on parchment, and signed with the king's hand, — but it was written in characters never to be obliterated, on the enduring page of history, and solemnly ratified by the blood of the revolution.

Having witnessed the deplorable policy of the present king of France, and looking with horror upon the new and awful crimes which have stained the thrones of Europe within the past three years, the Abbé de la Mennais seems to have exerted his utmost powers, to represent in the most hideous form the characters of monarchs and their conspiracies against the rights of man, and to incite the people to rise in rebellion against them. He gives a picture of the first establishment of monarchies, in the third chapter of his work.

"And I was transported in spirit to the times of old, and the earth was beautiful, and rich, and fertile, and her inhabitants were happy, because they lived like brethren.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"And I saw the serpent glide into the midst of them, he fixed upon some his fascinating glance, and their souls were troubled, and they drew near, and the serpent whispered unto them.

"And when they had heard the words of the serpent they rose up and said, 'We are kings.'

"And the sun turned pale; and the earth wore a mournful hue, like the shroud which envelopes the dead.

"And a low murmur was heard, a long moan, and each one trembled in his heart.

"Verily, I say unto you it was as in the day, when the depths were broken up, and the deluge of great waters overflowed.

"Fear went from cottage to cottage, for there were then no palaces; and she told to each one dreadful secret, which made him shudder.

"And those who had said, 'We are kings,' took a sword and followed fear from cottage to cottage.

"And mysterious deeds were acted there; there were chains, and tears, and blood.

"And the men affrighted, cried out, 'murder hath re-appeared on the earth.' That cry was all, for fear had transfixed their souls and paralyzed their arms.

"And they suffered themselves to be loaded with irons; they, and their wives, and their little ones. And those who had said, 'We are kings,' excavated as it were a great cavern, and they there shut up the whole human family, as beasts are shut up in a stall.

"And the tempest drove the clouds, and the thunder rolled, and I heard a voice which said, 'The serpent hath conquered a second time, but not forever.'

"After that, I heard nothing but confused voices, laughter, sobbings, and blasphemies.

"And I understood that there was to be a reign of Satan, before the reign of God. And I wept, and I hoped.

"And the vision which I saw was true; for the reign of Satan is accomplished, and the reign of God will be accomplished; and those who have said, 'We are kings,' shall be in their turn shut up in the cavern with the serpent, and the human race shall come forth, and it shall be for them like another birth, like the passage from death unto life. So may it be."

In the thirteenth chapter, which contains one of the most frightful of his visions, he seems to signify the formation of the Holy Alliance. We cite the whole chapter, though a long one, because it appears to embody more of the spirit of the whole work than any other.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It was a night of darkness. A starless night hung heavily over the earth, like a covering of black marble over a tomb.

"And nothing broke the stillness of that night, but a strange noise, as of the light rustling of wings, which at times is heard over the country and the city.

"And then the darkness thickened, and every one felt his soul shrink within him, and a shudder run through his veins.

"And in a hall hung with black, and lighted by the dull red glimmer of a single lamp, seven men, clothed in purple, with crowns upon their heads, were sitting upon seven seats of iron.

"And in the middle of the hall was raised a throne composed of bones, and at the foot of the throne, in place of a footstool, there was a crucifix overturned; and before the throne a table of ebony, and upon the table a vessel filled with blood, red and foaming, and a human skull.

"And these seven men with crowns, seemed pensive and sad; and from the depths of their sunken sockets, their eyes, from time to time, shot forth sparks of livid fire.

"And one of them raising himself, approached the throne with a tottering step, and placed his foot upon the crucifix.

"At that moment his limbs trembled, and he seemed about to faint. The rest looked on him motionless; they made not the slightest movement, but an indescribable expression passed over their features, and an unearthly smile contracted their lips.

"And he who had seemed about to faint, stretched forth his hand, and seized the vessel filled with blood, and poured it out into the skull and drank of it.

"And the draught seemed to strengthen him.

"And raising his head, this cry came forth from his breast, like the sound of the dull death-rattle.

"'Cursed be Christ, who hath restored liberty to the earth!' And the other six crowned men raised themselves together, and together sent forth the same cry: 'Cursed be Christ, who hath restored liberty to the earth!'

"After which, sitting down again upon their seats of iron, the first said: 'My brethren, what shall we do to stifle liberty? For our reign is finished if her's commences. Our cause is the same; let each one, therefore, propose that which shall seem good unto him.'

"Hearken then! this is my counsel. 'Before Christ came, who was able to stand before us? It is his religion which hath ruined us Let us abolish the religion of Christ.'

"And they all answered; 'it is true, let us abolish the religion of Christ.'

"And the second advanced toward the throne and took the human skull, poured blood into it, drank it, and spake as follows:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

" ' It is not religion alone which should be abolished, but learning and thought also; for learning will discover that which it is not for our interest the world should know; and thought is always ready to contend against force.'

" And all answered, ' it is true; let us contend against learning and thought.'

" And after having done as the first two had done, a third spake;

" ' When we shall have again plunged men into their stupidity, by taking from them religion, and learning, and thought, we shall have done much, but there will still remain something more for us to do.

" The brute possesseth instinct and dangerous sympathies. It is necessary that one nation should not hear the cry of another people, lest if the one should murmur and rise, the other may be tempted to imitate. Let then, no murmuring from without penetrate our kingdoms.

" And all answered; ' it is true, let no murmuring from without penetrate our kingdoms.'

" And a fourth said; ' We have our interest and the people have theirs opposed to ours; if they unite to defend that interest against us, how shall we resist them?'

" ' Divide and conquer. Let us make in every province, in every town, in every hamlet, an interest opposed to that of other hamlets, of other towns, and of other provinces.'

" ' In this way, all will hate each other, and they will not think of uniting against us.'

" And all answered; ' it is true, divide and conquer; concord would ruin us.'

" And a fifth having twice filled with blood, and twice emptied the skull, said: ' I approve of all these measures; they are good, but insufficient. Make men brutes, it is well; but frighten the brutes, strike terror into them by an inexorable justice, if you would not, sooner or latter, be devoured by them. The executioner is the prime-minister of a good prince.'

" And all answered: ' It is true, the executioner is the prime-minister of a good prince.

" And a sixth said: ' I acknowledge the advantage of prompt, terrible, and inevitable punishments. Still, there are heroic and desperate spirits who brave punishment.'

" Would you govern men easily, make them effeminate by voluptuousness. Virtue will avail us nothing, she nourisheth strength; rather let us exhaust them by corruption.

" And all answered, ' it is true; let us exhaust strength, and energy, and courage, by corruption.'

" Then the seventh, having like the others, drank from the human skull, spake after this manner, his feet on the crucifix.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"'Down with Christ! there is a war of extermination, eternal war betwixt him and us.

"'But how shall we detach the people from him? It is a vain endeavor. What then shall be done? Hearken unto me, — it is necessary to gain the priests of Christ with riches, with honors, and with power.

"'And they will command the people in the name of Christ, to be subject to us in all that we may do, in all that we may order.

"'And the people will believe them, and obey them for conscience' sake; and our power will be firmer than before.'

"And all answered, 'it is true; let us gain the priests of Christ.'

"And suddenly the lamp which lighted the hall went out, and the seven men vanished in the darkness.

"And it was said to a righteous man, who at that moment watched and prayed before the cross; my day approacheth, adore and fear nothing."

Nothing can be better adapted to take a strong hold upon the minds of the people of France, and especially the Parisians, than a work of this kind. It has met, we are told by the translator, with an immense sale, and its influence has been so great, that the government has thought it necessary to cause a book to be written in reply to it, in the same style.

The work is remarkable for its independence; while it shows the strong features of several parties in politics, it belongs strictly to none. In the views it presents of the character of kings, and the ferocity which it exhibits when denouncing them, the book goes to the utmost length of the violent republicans of the metropolis; but again, in the highly religious sentiments it contains, it is widely removed from the creed of the liberal party. As a whole, this party may be said to have abandoned religion; and to such a length do they carry their contempt for its sentiments, that when Silvio Pellico's account of his imprisonment, (a work which, in its apostolic gentleness and humble devotion, we consider the most powerful and touching appeal against tyranny ever made,) was first published in France, the journals of the liberal party utterly refused to notice it on account of its religious character. With this party, therefore, the Abbé could not expect any sympathy whatever, in the love of God and of Christ which is enforced in every chapter of the work. Religion exists in no party in France, unless it be that of the friends of legitimacy; and with these it is only valued in its connection with the state. As for the king's party, the *juste milieu* men, they are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ready for religion or infidelity, just as the one or the other will best help their purposes. In the reply to the Abbé's book, which is called Words of a Seer, *Paroles d'un Voyant*, they take the revolting side of atheism; and the work commences in these words: "In the name of imperishable humanity, our God."

We doubt not, however, that there may be found in the kingdom of France numbers, who, like our author, ranging under no particular party, may still entertain sentiments of the most sincere religion, united with a love of freedom and of their country, and who will receive this work, almost as the words of an evangelist. There is, moreover, a power and beauty in the style, and an earnestness in the sentiments of liberty, which cannot fail to recommend it to all but the blind advocates of legitimacy.

While we sympathize in many respects most heartily with the author, and while we cannot withhold our admiration for the doctrines of liberty and religion which the work contains, we still have very strong doubts whether the book, if it have any effect at all, can operate for good, especially with the people of France. The Abbé de la Mennais has come boldly forward as a teacher of the people; but he has taught them the wrong lesson; has directed their energies to the wrong object, and excited their feelings in a wrong cause. That they have a great lesson to learn, there can be no doubt; that they are yet ignorant of the true basis upon which their liberties ought to be founded, is but too obvious, even to a careless observer; and we grieve to find that the author, with all his power, has done but little to help them to this knowledge.

His great mistake is in endeavoring to excite the animosity and vengeance of the people against the persons of kings, instead of cultivating in them a love for constitutional rights, which, when once breathed into a community, and existing as a lively principle in the minds of the people, will place it beyond the power of a monarch to become a tyrant. The people of France, since the first dawn of freedom among them, have ever been too ready to fly to arms as a relief from their troubles; from the time of the execution, (we had almost said the murder) of Louis XVI., down to the attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe and his family in the Tuilleries, they have evinced little enough reverence for the person of the monarch. Towards the present king, we verily believe not an individual

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bosom beats with a sentiment of loyalty; and the monarch of France would now be judged in all cases nearly as a private citizen. There is little need of exciting the feelings of the populace against him, from any danger that may arise in a feeling of personal attachment. But there is great danger in exciting this lively and high-spirited people to acts of violence. The *émeutes* of the metropolis have been its disgrace and its curse; and the scenes of blood which it has witnessed have done more, perhaps, than any other thing, to retard the progress of liberty, both in France, and on the continent generally. The liberties of France are in danger, no doubt; and in danger from the monarch personally; he has done much to turn back the tide of freedom, — he has abandoned the principles which placed him upon the throne, — he has lawlessly imprisoned his innocent subjects, — he has checked the liberty of the press, — he has violated the charter in the most open and tyrannical manner; and after all this, he remains more firmly than ever on the throne. How is it that tyranny has been thus triumphant? How has a people, so nobly distinguished for their unquenchable love of freedom, so fearless in war, so lately triumphant over the legions of an oppressor, while the laurels won in the hallowed conflict were yet unfaded, how has this people again suffered itself to be trampled upon? We answer, that although the monarch has betrayed the nation, still the great fault is in the people themselves; they have been wanting to their own rights, — they have, by acts of lawless violence, in a measure compelled the king to become a tyrant, — they have mistaken the meaning of liberty and disgraced its name, — they have been wanting, finally, in that reverence towards their constitution, without which no nation can be free.

Here, then, was the great truth which the Abbé de la Mennais ought to have urged; the love and respect for constitutional rights; he ought to have represented, with all his eloquence, the majesty and sanctity of civil law and the sacred nature of the constitution; he should have demonstrated that this is the key-stone of liberty, that it binds the monarch no less than the people, and that, if he violates it, he aims the deadliest blow at their rights. The French people have yet to learn a sufficient degree of reverence for law; and in this respect consists the great difference between the liberty of France and that of England. We have already remarked that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a greater degree of personal freedom pervades all classes of people in the former country than in the latter; but, on the other hand, with the reverence which exists in England for monarch and state dignitaries, for church establishment and titled men, there exists at the same time a respect for law, which has effectually prevented the liberties of the people from retrograding, and has with slow, but unvarying progress, been advancing their rights for centuries. There is no country in the old world, where the law holds a more undisputed sway than in England. The constitution has come down from the days of Magna Charta with the accumulated dignity of ages upon it, and the Englishman regards with a feeling of unmingled horror any attempt to violate its articles. In France this is not so; the people have not yet learned to revere their constitution; the generation that is now passing away, is older than the charter of their rights, and the younger portion of the people have witnessed too many revolutions to have been brought up in the idea of the permanence of any government or laws; they have not yet had time, since their emancipation, to acquire that feeling of sanctity which the law ought to inspire among every free people. The vital principle of every constitution is its durability, and the difficulty with which any change is made in it, — and it will readily be comprehended how little opportunity the French people have possessed for acquiring just views with regard to the inviolability of constitutions, when the reflection is made, that since the adoption of the federal constitution in this country, the form of government in France has been changed oftener than the Presidents of the United States. There has been nothing in that country to give an idea of stability in government; the constitution has been changed, violated, trampled upon again and again; and it is impossible, under such circumstances, that the sacredness of its character should be understood. True, the revolution of July was the result of the most flagrant violation of constitutional rights; but it was excited by wrongs which touched most directly the personal comfort of a large class, — hundreds of workingmen were thrown out of employ, and were deprived of their daily bread by the ordinances of Charles X. In 1832, when the present king had no less openly violated the constitution, by establishing martial law in the capital, the enormity was tamely submitted to. The populace, who from behind the barricades, and with arms in their hands, could at one moment

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cry *à bas le roi*, and the instant after, by a slight exhibition of personal courage, be made to throw down their arms and cry *vive le roi*, have yet much to learn in the book of freedom. In teaching this great lesson, our author is utterly deficient.

In one respect, however, he is undoubtedly in advance of ordinary political writers; this is in holding up, as the surest means of acquiring and preserving liberty, the sincere worship of God, and the serving no master but Christ. His principle is correct, though his application of it is wrong; nothing can be less in accordance with Christianity, than the feelings of exasperation and vengeance which he excites. His views, however, of the influence of religion upon the liberties of a people are bold, and appear to us just. The connection between religion and politics is a very different thing from the connection between church and state. The latter is only a vulgar, but powerful support to government, founded on the ignorance of a people, and degrading Christianity to a system of little more value than the pagan rites of Rome. The other elevates the science of government to the high rank it naturally occupies, breathes into it the pure spirit of life, gives it a singleness of purpose and energy of action, and causes it to operate with the sole view to the happiness of a people; it nerves the arm of the patriot, and assures him that the God of battles is his defender; it cheers the prisoner in his dungeon, and upholds the martyr on the scaffold; and tyrants tremble and fall before its irresistible power.

The religious sentiments of the author pervade the whole work; as a specimen of them, we cite portions of the twenty-second chapter.

"Understand well, how to become free;

"To be free, it is necessary to love God above every thing, for if ye love God, ye will do his will; and the will of God is justice and love, without which there is no liberty.

"Love God above all things, and thy neighbor as thyself, and bondage would disappear from the earth.

"Liberty is like the kingdom of heaven; it suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. But the violence which shall place you in the possession of liberty, is not the ferocious violence of thieves and robbers, oppression, vengeance, and cruelty; but a will, strong and inflexible; a courage, calm and generous.

"The most holy cause becomes most impious and execrable, when crime is employed to sustain it. The man of crime from a slave may become a tyrant, but never will he become free."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED.

We had intended to say something upon the present state of literature and religion in France, of which the work in question is no less a sign, than of the political condition of the country; but our article has already been too far protracted, and we hasten to conclude.

The views we have taken of the present condition of that interesting country, have a momentous bearing on our own. Are not our liberties in danger, and from the same cause that seems to retard the progress of freedom in France? Have we not, like the people of France, evinced that we are not enough aware of the sanctity of the charter of our rights? Have not we, like them, been dazzled and blinded by personal courage and military glory? Have we not been too ready to take up arms to avenge our real or fancied wrongs? Have there not been acted among us, within the last year, scenes more disgraceful to a people, and to human nature, than the *émeutes* under Louis Philippe, or even than the mad carnage of the old revolution? We much fear that the respect for order, the submission to law, the majestic calmness and moderation which distinguished our fathers, and which alone could have called forth the fair form of our republic from the chaos of revolution, are passing away from their descendants. Like the French, we are in danger of abandoning the feeling of reverence for all institutions; and like them, so surely as we do this, we shall be trodden under foot by a tyrant; it matters little whether he be called king or president.

In this hour of darkness and danger, it behoves all good men to combine together for the preservation of good institutions, by expressing, in tones of reproach and indignation, their abhorrence of deeds of violence, and above all, by holding up to just infamy the more cunning instigators of such crimes; and by endeavoring to cultivate among the people a more elevated morality, more sincere religion, and higher views of the sacred and inviolable character of laws.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART. II. — *Coleridge.*

The Friend: a Series of Essays to aid in the Formation of fixed Principles in Politics, Morals and Religion; with Literary Amusements interspersed. By S. T. COLERIDGE, ESQ. 3 vols. 12mo. London, 1818.

WE regard as a peculiar privilege, the opportunity to express our admiration of the genius, character, and writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. It is rarely, indeed, that God has placed such a mind as his in an earthly mould, to shed its splendor on a world in ruins. We regard him with feelings of veneration and love, which we have paid to few other names in English Literature. Nor does the obloquy, by which he was pursued through life, in the least degree lessen that veneration. It was the inevitable accompaniment of his greatness. It was the appropriate testimony of an age of littleness and superficiality, towards one, who towered in such grandeur beyond the measure of all his contemporaries. "It was not only in the Roman customs," said Burke, with indignant feeling of the wrongs that had been heaped upon him, "it was not only in the Roman customs, but it is in the nature and constitution of things, that calumny and abuse are essential parts of triumph."

The idea of Coleridge's mind rises in the world of intellect, like the "MONARCH OF MOUNTAINS" in the world of nature, a shape of severe and awful grandeur, arresting the gaze of the soul, and awing it with sublimity and mystery. He was of that class of men, "whose mind is affected by *thoughts* rather than *things*; and only then feels the requisite interest, even for the most important events and accidents, when, by means of meditation, they have passed into thoughts." His sublime apostrophe to Milton, we find it difficult to read, without applying its descriptive character, in part at least, to himself. "My mind is not capable of forming a more august conception, than arises from the contemplation of this great man in his latter days; poor, sick, old, blind, slandered, persecuted,

"Darkness before, and danger's voice behind,"

in an age, in which he was as little understood by the party *for* whom, as by that *against* whom, he had contended; and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among men, *before whom he strode so far, as to dwarf himself by the distance*, yet still listening to the music of his own thoughts, or if additionally cheered, yet cheered only by the prophetic faith of two or three solitary individuals, he did nevertheless

——— " Argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bore up, and steered
Right onward."

For himself Coleridge never desired notoriety, and indeed was averse from it. In how admirable a manner does he speak of the fatal influence of the passion for distinction, — " the desire of *distinguishing* yourself *from* other men in order to be distinguished *by* them. Hoc reverâ est *inter te* et veritatem. This interest does indeed stand between thee and truth. I might add, between thee and thy own soul. It is scarcely more at variance with the love of truth, than it is unfriendly to the attainment that deserves that name. By your own act, you have appointed the many as your judges and appraisers; for the anxiety to be admired is a loveless passion, ever strongest with regard to those by whom we are least known and least cared for, loud on the Hustings, gay in the Ball-room, mute and sullen at the family Fireside."

There are some minds of so noble an order, that we would almost say humility seems natural to them. Burke's was such a mind. Kindred in its character was that of Coleridge. To intellectual he added true christian humility. He never affected greatness; it was inseparable from the exercise of such an intellect as God had given him. He was chargeable indeed, with a "too careless indifference to public opinion, and to the attacks of those who influence it;" praise and admiration being little desirable to him, except as marks of sympathy. It is truly affecting to peruse his own remarks on this subject, at the close of the chapter in the Biographia Literaria, on the supposed irritability of men of genius, and the causes, occasions, and injustice of the charge; a chapter worthy of meditative study and admiration. " Indignation at literary wrongs," says he, " I leave to men born under happier stars, I cannot *afford* it. . . . . I have laid too many eggs in the hot sands of this wilderness, the world, with ostrich carelessness and ostrich oblivion. The greater part, indeed, have been trodden under

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foot and are forgotten; but yet no small number have crept forth into life, some to furnish feathers for the caps of others, and still more to plume the shafts in the quivers of my enemies; of them that, unprovoked, have lain in wait against my soul."

"Sic vos, non vobis mellificatis, apes!"

We earnestly hope that some one of his friends in England may collect these scattered and neglected fruits of his mind, together with the essays published in the Morning Post and Courier, and give them to the world.

It is now, less than formerly, the lot of such minds to be criticised by men, "whose intellectual claims to the guardianship of the muses seem, from the greater part, analogous to the physical qualifications, which adapt their oriental brethren for the superintendence of the harem." Few have had more to endure, or borne it with humbler patience of endurance, than this great man, from the sciolism, the impudence, and the malice of anonymous criticism. With a severity the more powerful, because so calm and lofty, he has cauterized the then prevailing style of quackery in criticism in the third chapter of the Biographia Literaria, in which he has vindicated Southey's "fixed and well-earned fame," from the abuse and indefatigable hostility of his anonymous critics, and recorded his own admiration of his friend, in a tribute of beautiful and heartfelt praise, only to be equalled for its sweetness, good sense, and power of discrimination, by his own more elaborate and detailed criticism upon the poet Wordsworth. What he said of Southey in the closing sentence of this chapter, might be applied with equal felicity to himself, "that quacks in education, quacks in politics, and quacks in criticism were his only enemies."

One of the noblest traits in the character of Coleridge was his delight to discover, and readiness to acknowledge ability and excellence in others. This feature was combined at the same time with that humility in the appreciation of his own powers, which led him to underrate himself in the comparison. In how noble a manner does he speak of Paley's excellence of language and simplicity of style, and of his own unwillingness to write the severe criticism, which yet a sense of justice demanded, upon Paley's erroneous system. "O, if I were fond and ambitious of literary honor, of public applause, how well

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

content should I be to excite but one third of the admiration, which, in my inmost being, I feel for the head and heart of Paley! And how gladly would I surrender all hope of contemporary praise, could I even approach to the incomparable grace, propriety, and persuasive facility of his writings! But on this very account I believe myself bound in conscience to throw the whole force of my intellect in the way of this triumphal car, on which the tutelary genius of modern idolatry is borne, even at the risk of being crushed under the wheels!"

The tenth chapter of the Biographia Literaria, (a work to which we always recur with renewed benefit and delight) is full of autobiographical interest. For mingled humor, and pathos, wit, good sense, and nobleness, and affectionateness of feeling, it is unsurpassed in the annals of biography. It contains a humorous history of his sufferings at the outset of his authorship, when, though a poor man, he was, as he expresses himself, "so completely hag-ridden by the fear of being influenced by selfish motives, that to know a mode of conduct to be the dictate of *prudence* was a sort of presumptive proof to my feelings, that the contrary was the dictate of *duty*." He gives the most amusing account of his campaign for subscribers to the "Watchman," and it is one of the greatest curiosities in the history of genius. He says, in concluding the account of the periodical, "I should have been inevitably thrown into jail by my British printer, who refused to wait, even for a month, for a sum between eighty and ninety pounds, if the money had not been paid for me by a man by no means affluent, a dear friend, who attached himself to me from my first arrival at Bristol, who has continued my friend with a fidelity unconquered by time, or even by my own apparent neglect; a friend, from whom I never received an advice that was not wise, or a remonstrance that was not gentle and affectionate."

During his retirement in Somersetshire, his mind seems to have experienced a mighty revolution on the great subjects of religion and philosophy. To the foundations of religion and morals he devoted his thoughts and studies; but, in his own expression, "found himself all afloat. Doubts rushed in; broke upon me *from the fountains of the great deep*, and fell *from the windows of heaven*. The fontal truths of natural religion, and the books of Revelation, alike contributed to the flood; and it was long ere my ark touched on an Ararat, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rested." When it did rest, it was first in a speculative, but afterwards a heartfelt, experimental faith, in the doctrines of the gospel, and a spiritual philosophy shining in its light.

"While my mind was thus perplexed," he says, "by a gracious providence, for which I can never be sufficiently grateful, the generous and munificent patronage of Mr. Josiah, and Mr. Thomas Wedgewood, enabled me to finish my education in Germany. I made the best use of my time and means; and there is, therefore, no period of my life, on which I can look back with such unmingled satisfaction." He gives a noble outline of his almost Encyclopedic studies in that country of hard students and learned men.

This instructive and interesting chapter concludes with a strain of wounded but noble feelings in reference to the charge of idleness. "My severest critics have not pretended to have found, in my compositions, triviality, or traces of a mind that shrunk from the toil of thinking. No one has charged me with tricking out in other words the thoughts of others, or with hashing up anew the *crambe jam decies coctam* of English literature or philosophy. Seldom have I written that in a day, the acquisition or investigation of which had not cost me the previous labor of a month."

It may be remarked as a great proof of genius, when the productions of the mind are impressed with the character of the author. A man of the highest genius, in communicating his thoughts, communicates himself; opens his heart; leaves the impress of his *feelings* in his works. Observe this beautiful trait in Burke. The best biographer in the world could scarcely, by the happiest or most minute delineation, give us a more perfect idea of Burke's character as a whole, than we can gain by the perusal of his own volumes. It is this trait that gives a deeper interest, (and far more precious, for it is a moral interest,) than the highest degree of mere intellectual power can confer. It links the being of the reader not merely in admiration, but in fervent attachment to the genius of the author. Thus it is that Coleridge's sweet, affectionate, and noble feelings, always encircling and mingling with the movements of his great mind, (even as the melody of music in a majestic anthem pervades the soul of the poetry, and heightens and completes its power,) have won for him, as a man, a fervor of attachment unexampled, in the hearts of those who most admire the productions of his genius.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And yet, we cannot contemplate his character, nor read a page of his works without a melancholy feeling. It is a melancholy not unlike that which we experience, in perusing those portions of the works of Burke, that were written after the death of his beloved son. The sorrows of a father's almost broken heart have tinged every line; the pages are hallowed with the sacredness of his affliction. The sorrows of Coleridge were both from inward and outward sources, but more from inward; a noble mind preying on itself. He was a being, whose extraordinary qualities of intellect and heart, the evil times on which he had fallen could not appreciate. Moreover, his sensibilities were all too keen for the body in which he was imprisoned, and the world by which he was surrounded. Years of pain, bodily and mental, were his to endure, aggravated, with bitterness inexpressible, by the sense of inability to realize the ideals of intellectual performance he was always contemplating; a feeling of regret, it may be of remorse, in the conviction of the vast disproportion between his great powers of mind, and any image of them in his actual works; besides, a constant struggle to bear up against the mechanical and material spirit of the age; disappointment, not of ambition, but of a wounded spirit; sickness of heart for the hollowness of friendly profession; straitened circumstances, and perhaps more than all, domestic affliction, compelling him, it may be, to take refuge from too bitter a sense of it, by "delving in the unwholesome mines of metaphysic depths." "I have sought a refuge," says he, "from bodily pain and mismanaged sensibility, in abstruse researches, which exercised the strength and subtlety of the understanding, without awakening the feelings of the heart." He bore all his sorrows, and especially the anguish of the last months of life, with sweetness of address and tranquillity of spirit. Would that those, who have spoken and written so freely against him, had power to appreciate, and nobleness of disposition to acknowledge, the moral worth of his feelings and his labors!

His own language, in his own poetry, can alone describe his feelings. The following passage is from his Ode on Dejection.

> "There was a time when, though my path was rough,
> This joy within me dallied with distress,
> And all misfortunes were but as the stuff,
> Whence fancy made me dreams of happiness:
> For hope grew round me like the twining vine,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And fruits and foliage, not my own, seemed mine.
But now afflictions bow me down to earth,
Nor care I that they rob me of my mirth. —
But oh! each visitation
Suspends what nature gave me at my birth,
My shaping spirit of Imagination.
For not to *think* of what I needs must *feel*,
But to be still and patient, all I can;
And haply by abstruse research to steal
From my own nature all the natural man,
This was my sole resource, my only plan;
Till that, which suits a part, infects the whole,
And now is almost grown the habit of my soul."

How affecting is this expression of his own sense of the influence which metaphysical employments, long pursued, had exerted over his poetical genius. If, however, we might judge from his latest poetry, his metaphysical studies through life must have rather increased than lessened the power of his imagination.

The recitation of Wordsworth's Poem on the growth of an individual mind, of which gift to his race we possess as yet a portion only, in the volume entitled The Excursion, (that portion in itself a noble whole,) seems to have wakened up in Coleridge's being a powerful consciousness of what he himself also was capable of, and strong yearnings after its realization. Evening after evening, that great poet, amidst a circle of dear friends, a "happy vision of beloved faces," poured forth, in the deep and solemn voice with which he recites his own poetry, that "long sustained song." Coleridge describes it with unequalled power of beauty.

"Eve following eve,
Dear, tranquil time, when the sweet sense of Home
Is sweetest! moments for their own sake hailed,
And more desired, more precious for thy song,
In silence listening, like a devout child,
My soul lay passive, by the various strain
Driven, as in surges now beneath the stars,
With momentary stars of my own birth,
Fair, constellated foam, still darting off
Into the darkness; now a tranquil sea,
Outspread and bright, yet swelling to the moon."

The night after the close of this recitation, he composed (addressing it to Wordsworth) one of the finest among his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own "Meditative Poems," from which the passage extracted above is taken. In it there occur the following lines, in which he gave utterance to "the voice of moaning" over his own long silent genius. They express not only his own feelings, weeping over himself, in the consciousness of what perhaps he ought to have performed, permanent, and of ever-enduring influence; but the feelings of others for him, beholding, in all that he has accomplished, so vivid proofs of that, far greater, which yet he might have realized, and placed "among the archives of mankind."

"Ah! as I listened with a heart forlorn,
The pulses of my being beat anew;
And even as life returns upon the drown'd,
Life's joy, rekindling, roused a throng of pains, —
Keen pangs of love, awakening as a babe
Turbulent, with an outcry in the heart;
And fears self-willed, that shunned the eye of Hope;
And Hope, that scarce would know itself from Fear;
Sense of past youth, and manhood come in vain,
And genius given, and knowledge won in vain;
And all which I had culled in woodwalks wild,
And all which patient toil had reared, and all,
Commune with *thee* had opened out, — but flowers,
Strew'd on my corse, and borne upon my bier,
In the same coffin, for the self-same grave!"

We have spoken of his sorrows, and of the manner in which he endured them. His heart was full of tenderness to those who loved him, and forgiveness to those, who, without provocation, (unless kindness and good deeds be such,) were his enemies; nor could there be found, anywhere in English literature, expressions of nobler feeling towards his slanderers, or of truer gratitude to his friends. For the reputation of these, he sought with the earnestness of self-oblivion; a generosity sometimes painfully returned by passiveness on their part, when his own character was at stake. "Think only," says he, "what your feelings would be, if you heard a wretch deliberately perjure himself in support of an infamous accusation, so remote from all fact, so smooth and homogeneous in its untruth, such a *round robin* of mere lies, that you knew not which to begin with? What could you do, but look round with horror and astonishment, pleading silently to human nature itself, — and, perhaps, *(as hath really been the case with me,)*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forget both the slanderer and his slander, in the anguish inflicted by the passiveness of your many professed friends, whose characters you had ever been as eager to clear from the least stain of reproach, as if a coal of fire had been on your own skin?"

To the delineation of Wordsworth's excellencies, he devoted the greater part of the second volume of the Biographia Literaria, in an essay, which will remain a master-piece of philosophical criticism, coeval with the English language. Of another friend and benefactor, he has given a character in one of the essays in the first volume of The Friend, written in all the beauty of eloquence, from the inmost heart of the poet and philosopher. He speaks of his virtues, "themes for the energies of solitude, for the awfulness of prayer! — virtues, exercised in the barrenness and desolation of his animal being; while he thirsted, with the full stream at his lips, and yet with unwearied goodness poured out to all around him, like the master of a feast among his kindred, in the day of his own gladness! Were it but for the remembrance of him alone, and of his lot here below, the disbelief of a future state would sadden the earth around me, and blight the very grass in the field." Again, in one of the letters of his "Literary Correspondence," having alluded to the sufferings of his friend, and the scientific meditations to which he was led while enduring them, he dwells in a passage, exquisite for its beauty, not less than for its profound philosophic thought, upon the influence of ill-health and pain in eliciting genius. We extract the following sentences, as a specimen of his power of illustrating truth from scientific phenomena. "The cutting and irritating grain of sand, which by accident or incaution has got within the shell, incites the living inmate to secrete from its own resources, the means of coating the intrusive substance. And is it not, or may it not be, even so, with the irregularities and unevenness of health and fortune in our own case? We too may turn diseases into pearls. The means and materials are within ourselves; and the process is easily understood." "That this source of consolation and support may be equally in your power as in mine, but that you may never have occasion to *feel* equally grateful for it, *as I have and do, in body and estate*, is the fervent wish of your affectionate

S. T. Coleridge."

The volumes of The Friend, (published as one in this coun-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

try,) are every way worthy of Coleridge's great intellect; whether for the development of important principles in political, ethical, psychological science; or for eloquence of feeling, sentiment, and thought; or for philosophic and poetic beauty of style and illustration. The work is a FRIEND indeed, and to the young above all others; venerable, yet familiar; thoughtful, and of kindest, noblest feelings; teaching wisdom for meditation, and alluring to habits of meditation, by presenting to the mind, not amusement merely, but

——— Flowers
Of sober tint, and herbs of medicinal powers;

admonitory of dangerous influences, and alluring to the love of every thing good and honorable; taking the reader affectionately by the hand, and with most happy and instructive conversation to beguile the weariness of the way, leading him gradually upward to the very highest principles of speculative science.

Were we to point out the essays most worthy to be earnestly and profoundly studied, it would be those in the third volume, on the "Principles of Method common to all Investigations; presented as the basis of his future philosophical and theological writings, and as the necessary introduction to the same." We do not believe, that in the whole compass of English, French, or German literature, there is to be witnessed so profound an exhibition of the ultimate principles of universal science; the principles, by which alone "philosophy becomes scientific, and the sciences philosophical." As a work, The Friend abounds likewise with passages of great descriptive beauty, exquisite delineations of character, and striking truths, such as are scattered, indeed, through all his pages, obtained from the thoughtful study of human nature and human life. Aphoristic sentences, that condense volumes of meaning, arrest the attention of the contemplative reader, as fixed stars in his hemisphere of moral truth. The remark on page twenty-eighth, of the American edition, respecting the disproportion of human passions to their ordinary objects, being among the strongest internal evidences of our future destination, is a principle on which a mind like Bishop Butler's, might erect a work analogous to the ANALOGY. Another remark, a little farther onward, contains in itself the history of the corruptions of Christianity. So with the following remark on the same

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

page, in regard to the sacrifice of truth and expediency. "The duties which we owe to our own moral being, are the ground and condition of all other duties; and to set our nature at strife with itself for a good purpose, implies the same sort of prudence, as a priest of Diana would have manifested, who should have proposed to dig up the celebrated charcoal foundations of the mighty temple of Ephesus, in order to furnish fuel for the burnt offerings on its altars." As an instance of great conciseness and comprehension in one and the same thought, embodying truth from history, take the following. "The Christian world was for centuries divided into the many, that did not think at all, and the few, who did nothing but *think*, — both alike *unreflecting*, the one from defect of the *act*, the other from the absence of an *object*." How truly magnificent is the following sentence in regard to the Bible: "It is God every where; and all creatures conform to his decrees, the righteous by performance of the law, the disobedient by the sufferance of the penalty." His power of definition is not less remarkable for the characteristics of comprehension in conciseness, and accuracy in universality.

The political essays in The Friend, (though not possessing the general interest of those, for instance, which contain his delightful sketches of the character of Luther, and his explanation, on psychological principles, of Luther's satanic apparition, in the place of his imprisonment at the Warteburg,) are yet replete with wisdom. Here, too, principles give value and permanence to facts, and history is adduced to illustrate principles; and over all are thrown the light and warmth of moral purity and nobleness of feeling. In one of these pages he makes a remark, (which we have heard quoted as a proof of want of common sense and judgment,) viz. that as to England's "political strength and circumstantial prosperity, it is the national debt, which has wedded in indissoluble union all the interests of the state, the landed with the commercial, and the man of independent fortune with the stirring tradesman, and reposing annuitant." We have no doubt of the main truth of this remark; his own reasoning makes it clear; though he promises afterwards to develope, with the same boldness, the injurious effects of the system on the literature, morals, and religious principles of the people. Paradoxical as it may seem, to assert that in any case debt is benefit and strength, we believe that the national debt of England, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its amazing pressure of the kingdom, whose interests it nevertheless unites and consolidates by that pressure, may be compared to the key-stone of an immense arch, itself supported by those sides of the arch, which yet themselves would fall to pieces, but for the pressure of the weight they are required to sustain.

Mr. Coleridge's aim, in all movements of his mind, was towards general principles. In regard to The Friend, he says, "To refer men's opinions to their absolute principles, and thence their feelings to their appropriate objects, and in their due degrees; and finally, to apply the principles thus ascertained, to the formation of stedfast convictions, concerning the most important questions of politics, morality, and religion, — these are to be the objects and contents of this work." These, it may be said, are the objects and contents of all his works, and of all his philosophy; "having myself, (he says,) experienced, that no delight, either in kind or degree, was equal to that which accompanies the distinct perception of a fundamental truth, relative to our moral being; having, long after the completion of what is ordinarily called a learned education, discovered a new world of intellectual profit opening on me; not from any new opinions, but lying, as it were, at the roots of those, which I had been taught from childhood, in my catechism and spelling-book."

It is to principles, that he always directs us, without which, our knowledge, though varied as the forms of the visible and invisible creation, is little better than chaos; "the depthless abstractions of fleeting phenomena, the shadows of sailing vapors, the colorless repetitions of rainbows;" without which, "experience itself is but a Cyclops, walking backwards, under the fascination of the past," — "without which, the fleeting chaos of facts would no more form experience, than the dust of the grave can of itself make a living man;" without which history is fable, philosophy a formless kaleidoscope, poetry without life, and books without permanence.

It is to the presence of these, that the works of Edmund Burke owe their endurance and amazing power. "He possessed," says Coleridge, "and had sedulously sharpened, that eye which sees all things, actions, and events, in relation to the laws that determine their existence, and circumscribe their possibility. He referred habitually to *principles*. He was a *scientific* statesman; and, therefore, a *seer*. For every *prin-*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciple contains in itself the germs of a prophecy; and as the prophetic power is the essential privilege of science, so the fulfilment of its oracles supplies the outward, and, to men in general, the *only* test of its claim to the title." Of Burke, he made a remark, which we cannot but quote; that, "in his public character he found himself, as it were, in a Noah's ark, with a very few men, and a great many beasts."

It is to the pursuit of principle, instead of temporary notions and fancies, (that have their birth in every age, from the changing humors and movements of society, and in every age attract and waste the intellectual and moral strength of multitudes,) that the scholars and great men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries owe the perpetuity of their fame, and the fact that *their works do follow them.* And it is to be greatly feared, that, for want of an excitement produced by the presence and pursuit of ultimate principles, the character of our own age will become more and more superficial, money-making, and self-complacent; and that, even "amidst the vicessant intellectual activity of the race, the intellectual power of individual minds may be falling off; and amidst accumulating knowledge, lofty science may disappear."

"We are fond, (says Mr. Coleridge) of styling our own the *enlightened* age; though, as Jortin, I think, has wittily remarked, the *golden* age would be more appropriate." And are we not proud of our very defects, and yet not willing to acknowledge them? Ours is an age, it is true, of useful inventions; of steam-engines, and rail-roads, and libraries of useful and entertaining knowledge. But wisdom has sadly gone out of fashion; and ours is an age of sense, in opposition to an age of spirit; an age of *common* sense, in which all things and knowledges are *sensualized* to all. The speculative reason is forgotten in the enthronement of the practical understanding of man; and where this is the case, there is neither insight, nor veneration for things venerable, nor fixed opinions, nor stedfast thought, nor spiritual yearnings, nor deep consciousness, nor humble acknowledgment of spiritual wants. The employments that occupy man as a creature of the mere understanding, are multiplied, and the world is a vast hive of buzzing intelligences as busy as the bees, and as intent upon external or physical pursuits as they, to the exclusion of all spiritual concernments.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Criticism, with Coleridge, was a great science, and perhaps he is the first English critic, who has scientifically pursued it. Possessing a philosophic power of discernment in the observance of mental laws, and in the application of those laws to the productions of genius, and connecting the science of the beautiful in all its forms with those psychological and moral principles, of which in truth it is but the expression, he pours a placid light around him, as different from the undiscriminating glimmer of common criticism as the calm and solemn sunlight of noonday, revealing all things as they are, is different from the flickering torch-light. He tells us, himself, that he "labored at a solid foundation, on which permanently to ground his opinions in the component faculties of the human mind itself, and their comparative dignity and importance." He has stated the two following critical aphorisms, abstracted from his reading and meditation at an early age, and certainly important; "first, that not the poem which we have *read*, but that to which we *return*, with the greatest pleasure, possesses the genuine power, and claims the name of *essential poetry*. Second, that whatever lines can be translated into other words of the same language, without diminution of their significance, either in sense or association, or in any worthy feeling, are so far vicious in their diction."

In expressing his judgment on any work, he was guided by great integrity of moral principle. "It is hardly possible (he says) for a man of ingenuous mind to act under the fear that he shall be suspected, by honest men, of the vileness of praising a work to the public, merely because he happens to be personally acquainted with the author. I judge of all works indifferently, by certain fixed rules, previously formed in my mind, with all the power and vigilance of my judgment." We have referred, as an example of his power, to that grand critical essay upon Wordsworth, in the Biographia Literaria; nothing of so great excellence, or such a model in that department of literature, can be found in the language. There is likewise an essay in the second section of the third volume of The Friend, in which he illustrates his subject by quotations from Shakspeare, especially from Hamlet, in a strain of critical remark, so profoundly philosophical, so clear and vigorous, and producing in the mind so strong a sense of Shakspeare's judgment and intellectual greatness, as makes the reader earnestly wish that what is incidental illustration of scientific principles, tested by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

application to the works of that great Poet, had been itself extended to a volume. The critical remarks, in the first chapter of the Biographia Literaria, on the writers of the last century, including Mr. Pope and his followers, (whom he characterizes, with great accuracy, as "the school of French poetry, condensed and invigorated by English understanding,") are equally admirable. He discloses the nature of the "painted mists that occasionally rise from the marshes at the foot of Parnassus." "Our genuine admiration of a great poet, is a continuous *undercurrent* of feeling; it is every where present, but seldom any where as a separate excitement." Again, he makes an observation, which we may apply to the poetry of Wordsworth, for illustration, that "it is peculiar to original genius to become less and less *striking*, in proportion to its success in improving the taste and judgment of its contemporaries."

Coleridge's power of illustration, in his prose writings, was such as might be expected in so great a poet, working with unlimited command of such inexhaustible materials of learning and science. All things actual and imaginable in the universe of knowledge, the sciences, natural and exact, the fine arts, and the common business of life, he lays under contribution, and yokes the spoils, in endless reach and variety, to his imagination, as to a triumphal car. Perhaps in no other created mind but Plato's, were the powers of imagination and abstraction ever united in so remarkable a degree. Images, the growth of his poetic genius, are seen, amidst abstrusest subtleties, springing lovelier than ever on the perilous, barren heights of metaphysical speculations; even as the flowers, that, sometimes of rarest beauty, and as it were, conscious and rejoicing in their place of danger, bend over the crags of a mighty waterfall, and wet their petals, and mingle their fragrance with the spray.

His imagination might be named omnipresent in all forms of his intellectual existence; there being no power, in whose exercise the influence of that divine faculty was not duly mingled. Thought, meditation, reasoning, argument, abstract definition and criticism, are all surrounded by that radiance. All things have grown in that light. His language is imbued with it. Even in metaphysical abstractions we are conscious of its power. Its influence on the medium of thought might be illustrated by the painted glass in old cathedrals. It is a religious

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

light, full of solemnity, and sombre magnificence. His very words are pictures.

Yet this sublime faculty, which, bestowed in such abundant measure, generally usurps possession of the mind, instead of being possessed by it, with him was under perfect control, moving obedient to the severest judgment, and as a ministering spirit to his strong reasoning powers. Hence his figures are always natural, however unusual. They are part and parcel of the thought itself, and the legitimate result of energetic action in the intellect; *rubor quidem nativus, et incalescentia genuina;* the glow of blood upon the cheek, produced by powerful, but healthy, excitement in the heart.

All the treasures of his immense knowledge were fused in the fire of his genius, and became transparencies, through which the light of his imagination shone, encompassing the figures with attractive splendor, and setting them in a fiery glow. In metaphysical researches it places the thought in such distinctness, that we think of the moon setting behind the trees, and putting every leaf and twig in a burning blaze of crimson and gold. But it is almost presumptuous to use an illustration, which has been consecrated, as it were, with glory, in Wordsworth's grandest, happiest manner. Let us read the passage, for it worthily describes the actings of Coleridge's imagination.

> "Within the soul a faculty abides,
> That with interpositions, which would hide
> And darken, so can deal, that they become
> Contingencies of pomp; and serve to exalt
> Her native brightness. As the ample moon,
> In the deep stillness of a summer even,
> Rising behind a thick and lofty grove,
> Burns like an unconsuming fire of light,
> In the green trees; and, kindling on all sides
> Their leafy umbrage, turns the dusky veil
> Into a substance glorious as her own,
> Yea, with her own incorporated, by power
> Capacious and serene."

It is truly surprising to witness, in many of Coleridge's illustrations, his accurate acquaintance with the exact and natural sciences. He loves especially to illustrate psychological by geometrical science. It is so with all the sciences. He is at home, and what is more, he dwells among the *principles* of each, worshipping, not in the porch, but in the inner sanctuary

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the temple. Open his works where you will, the mind cannot long remain there, without being aroused into admiration and excitement. There are great forms around it; countenances sublime and awful; inscriptions of dread import; furniture and imagery, that seem the work of supernatural presences for themselves.

The same may be said of his conversation, which might almost be called the world's wonder, so universally has the fame of its splendor spread. To have enjoyed a day's familiar intercourse with such a mind, would have been worth a voyage across the Atlantic.

It has been finely said of Dr. Payson's conversation, that "his thoughts flew from him in every possible variety of beauty and harmony, like birds from a South American Forest." This might describe the movements of the *fancy* in Coleridge's conversation, but would be an utterly inadequate image of its amazing richness, grandeur and philosophic and imaginative power. And yet it was the spontaneous overflow of the mind, without effort, without rest, poured out wherever he found a human ear to listen. To him it seemed quite indifferent who should be the recipient of so much intellectual richness; he talked not to display that richness, but to communicate thought, and to give play to a mind as restless in its thoughts, as the ocean in the movement of its tides.

His countenance, while engaged in thought, we have been told was the most vivid image of abstraction conceivable. It seemed as if the soul, the whole principle of life and intelligence had withdrawn, for the time, from the outer man, to a hidden world within; and the face would be a perfect blank, almost a picture of idiocy. Then, on opening his lips in conversation, suddenly the fire would leap back into his eye, and the soul into every feature. It was like a resurrection. It was like the sun, rising abruptly from beneath the sea, to shine upon the waste of waters. Nothing could be more diverse, than these two countenances of the visible and invisible soul.

His power of condensing a world of meaning in one word, and flashing it upon the hearer's sense, has been spoken of as possessed, if possible, to a greater degree in conversation than in writing. He once said, speaking of the difference between the two styles of architecture, that the Grecian architecture was a *thing*, — the Gothic an IDEA.

Both in speaking and writing, he was a consummate master

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of language. No assertion could be more groundless, than the one, so oft repeated, of vagueness and mysticism in his style. The crude classification of his mind with that of Chalmers, by a writer in this country, is proof of the inaccurate and vague conceptions entertained in regard both to his genius and style, by those from whom a juster appreciation might have been expected. For no two authors could be more diverse, in their modes of thinking and expression, and in the whole character of their minds. If any qualities are distinctive in the intellect of Coleridge, they are, not only comprehensiveness, but acuteness and severity of thought, and accuracy and purity in the use of language. As his thoughts have no indistinctness, his language has no hiding-places. Here are neither mental waverings, nor half-meanings, nor indefinite phrases; neither are there iterations of familiar truth tricked out in the finery of words or epithets. He never resorts to such stratagems. His language is so severe and scientific, that nothing but original and strong thought can move in it. An indefinite mind would be in it as a blind child in the armor of invincible knights of old.

Sometimes he uses language with almost algebraic conciseness; so that his words and phrases partake so much of the condensation of his thoughts, that they appear like hieroglyphics. In general, it would be difficult for any one, the greatest master of English, to put any specified thought, which Mr. Coleridge has committed to writing, into smaller compass, with equal distinctness, or into broader space, without loss of power. Nor are the qualities of conciseness and accuracy inconsistent with that poetical richness, which distinguishes his style; the union of the imaginative and scientific, though very rare, being nevertheless but the natural union of poetry and philosophy.

He was not only accurate himself in the use of language; there is no writer, who so powerfully impresses on the reader's mind the importance of such accuracy, or awakes it to so watchful an examination both of the etymology and meaning of words. In many instances he has himself shown how much may be gained by this habit; it is giving to the mind a new thought; or rather re-linking the word to that thought, of which, in common use, it has ceased to be the exponent. It is like exchanging a worn-out coin, for one just struck from the mint. He has spoken, in one of his letters, of the remedy for confusion of thought, "to be provided by a dictionary, constructed on the one only philosophical principle, which re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

garding words as living growths, offsets, and organs of the human soul, seeks to trace each historically, through all the periods of its natural growth, and accidental modifications. A work which, executed for any one language, would yet be a benefaction to the world, and to the nation itself a source of immediate honor and of ultimate *weal*, beyond the power of victories to bestow, or the mines of Mexico to purchase. The realization of this scheme lies in the far distance; but in the meantime, it cannot but beseem every individual competent to its furtherance, to contribute a small portion of the materials for the future temple, — from a polished column to a hewn stone, or a plank for the scaffolding; and, as they come in, to erect with them sheds for the workmen, and temporary structures for present use."

His own essay on the philosophic import of the words *object* and *subject*, is a noble example of what may be done in this way. "There are cases (says he in one of his notes) in which more knowledge of more value may be conveyed by the history of a word, than by the history of a campaign. We have only to master the true origin and original import of any native and abiding word, to find in it, if not the *solution* of the facts expressed by it, yet a finger-mark, pointing to the road, on which this solution is to be sought for." He was himself an enthusiastic lover, and a profound master, of the greatest of all languages, the Greek; and not unfrequently does he throw a great light of illustration over his subject, from that particular language, as well as from the laws of universal grammar. Surely it would have been an anomaly, hard to be accounted for, if a mind, philosophic as his, and so disciplined, both in his school-days, and in all after life, had been loose or inaccurate in the use of his own mother tongue!

The clearness with which the thought lies in his own mind, he communicates in its expression, to all who will bestow the requisite attention; and so he does the fullness of conviction, almost inducing the acquiescence of his readers, by the mere force of united strength and integrity, with which he utters a proposition. However mysterious his language, (ourselves unaccustomed to the subjects, and for that reason finding mystery in the language,) we are evidently in the presence of a man, who is not beating the air; of a powerful intellect, that is not exerting itself among mists or absurdities, or walking

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blind-fold over regions where he has never been before. Whatever subject he is investigating, he does it as one who knows every step of the ground, and is conscious of, and properly confident in his own strength. Moreover, we see from his tread that it is *solid* ground; the distant beholder may have thought it an unstable marsh, but he strides over it with the heavy tramp of a war-horse; moving neither irresolutely, nor uncertain of his end, but as to a definite point, which he sees full before him, and is vigorous enough to attain. Whatever may be said of Coleridge's difficulty to be understood by others, it is at least evident that he understands himself.

What then are the grounds of alleged obscurity? They lie partly in the difficulty of the subject, and its remoteness from common consciousness; but more, we believe, in the mind of the reader. Coleridge generally takes for granted a greater degree of knowledge in that mind, than is actually there. Consequently, he makes a demand upon it, himself supplying only the necessary links in the argument. Some, who find him obscure, do so, because they have not studied him, nor become accustomed, either to his scientific use of language, or his abstract manner of elucidating principles; others, because they are not willing, or have not leisure, to satisfy the demand for thought and fixed attention, which he makes upon the mind. Campbell has said of the poet Collins, that "a cloud of obscurity sometimes rests on his highest conceptions, arising from the fierceness of his associations, and the daring sweep of his allusions; but the shadow is transitory, and interferes very little with the light of his imagery, or the warmth of his feelings." Something analogous may be said of Coleridge's metaphysical speculations.

If any person from defect of mental discipline be unable, or from dislike of mental labor be unwilling, to take those steps, which the author has not taken for him, though it may be a *convenient* way to dispose of the difficulty, it is surely not the most *honorable* in the reader, to transfer what is the fault either of his own mind or heart, to the score of an alleged fault in the writer. A youthful student, at least, we should suppose, with the remembrance of Coleridge's venerable age and profound learning, would rather, if an opinion expressed must necessarily involve the assertion of unintelligibility, preserve a modest silence. A mind sufficiently disciplined to appreciate Coleridge's intellectual power, or sufficiently elevated

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to enter into his nobleness of feeling; a mind that, amidst the scoffing habit of the age, has not lost all veneration for genius in another, or humility in view of limited attainment in itself, would rather not be found pronouncing the pages of such a man, confusion and absurdity. The very declaration involves an opinion, that the individual who makes it *understands his author's ignorance*. We would rather adopt the admirable language of Coleridge himself, in regard to those parts of Plato, to which, after long study, he confesses himself unable to attach any consistent meaning, and acknowledge, that instead of *understanding his ignorance*, we are IGNORANT OF HIS UNDERSTANDING.

"Metaphysical systems for the most part become popular, not for their truth, but in proportion as they attribute to causes a susceptibility of being *seen*, if only our visual organs were sufficiently powerful." This being the case, it is very natural that his own speculations should be branded as obscure, for his philosophy is at war with all that is sensual, and he is the great and venerable defender of that which is spiritual in man, in opposition to all materializing systems. From the empirical decisions of those who have ruled in the last age, he appeals continually to first principles, and reasons from them with the accuracy and power of geometrical science. And his illustrations of metaphysical truth are often so purely scientific, that, while nothing could be better adapted to make his meaning sensibly clear to a scientific mind, the illustrations themselves, in order to be fully comprehended, demand not a little discipline in the exact sciences. He has, in truth, occupied those heights in psychological science, which few have leisure, and still fewer the ability, and fewer still the patience, to scale. There, from that great elevation, which no other contemporary mind has reached, and in an intellectual atmosphere so thin and rarefied, that hardly another could sustain, he is occupied in the clear beholding of abstrusest truth. He describes the wondrous prospect, as it spreads out before his own soul, but with such exact language, and such discrimination, as few can follow, whose mental discipline has lain in an age of indistinctness and materiality; so that, although with the power of a strong imagination he vividly illustrates the abstractest principle, almost painting to the senses, what is difficult ever for the mind to hold in contemplation, there is but here and there an individual

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who fully comprehends him, and very many are content to put away the subject with the assertion, that in fact he is unintelligible. Should the mass of readers, who are ignorant of the higher branches of the mathematics, reason thus of the Mécanique Céleste, (and perhaps some of Coleridge's metaphysical investigations occupy a position in psychological science, analogous to that which the work of La Place occupies in mathematical,) the contemptuous obstinacy of such ignorance would be noticeable only to be despised. It is not so much, however, the *ignorance* of this age on psychological subjects, of which a mind like Coleridge's has reason to complain, as it is the complacency of assumed wisdom, with which they deny the possibility of any truths in metaphysics, that transcend the intricacies of physical machinery, or lie beyond the comprehension of common sense.

Were it not that the reasonings of Lord Bacon and of Sir Isaac Newton are of the laws of the natural world, and have the advantage of physical, or at least sensible exponents, and thus make by no means so great a demand on the power of abstract contemplation as those of Coleridge, we believe the two former philosophers would as often enjoy the imputation of mystical and unintelligible obscurities as the latter. The psychological philosopher has difficulties to encounter, that are never found in the way of the natural philosopher. The sphere of investigation itself demands higher powers of mind; it is, indeed, the sphere of the pure reason; while that of the external physical sciences is the province of the understanding. It requires a power of continuous thought, without any positions or links of demonstration in external things to rest upon. The milestones on the road beguile the traveller of his weariness; there are none such in metaphysical investigations. In natural science, the mind is led onward, by laws that can be read in external nature; it does not lead, but is conducted by ideas realized, as it were, to the senses. There is a logical connection already marked in the successive steps, that has only to be followed with attention, the last indicating the next. In psychological science the mind must be its own guide; there is no physical world, where its laws are realized to the senses; the soul's being cannot be analyzed like a mineral, nor demonstrated like an algebraic formula, or a geometrical quantity. Upborne with indefatigable wings, the metaphysical philosopher, who does

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not materialize his science, and thus place it out of the limits of psychology, must steer through regions of abstractions in the infinitude of being, where there are no external diagrams or resting-places, and where contemplation only can supply a guide.

Then, too, when we consider the amazing difficulties to be encountered in the absence of an adequate philosophical language; the sensualized condition of language itself, and its want of precision in subtle distinctions of abstract thought; it can be no longer wonderful, that when a writer undertakes to go back to the common consciousness of men on metaphysical subjects, they should turn from his speculations with dislike. Little reflection is needed to acquiesce in a system, which merely watches and reports the operation of the human faculties, but that which searches out the *grounds* of those operations, and ascends upward to principles, must of necessity be intricate and difficult to be pursued. Coleridge has given the following translation from Plato, of which he says, "the fidelity of the version may well atone for its harshness, in a passage, that deserves a meditation beyond the ministry of words." The passage is this. "One thing is the *hardness to be understood* of the Sophist, and then that of the philosopher. The former, retreating into the obscurity of *that which hath not true being*, and by long intercourse accustomed to the same, is hard to be known on account of the duskiness of the place. But the philosopher, by contemplation of pure reason, evermore approximating to the idea of true being, is by no means easy to be seen, on account of the splendor of that region. For the intellectual eyes of the many flit, and are incapable of looking fixedly toward the godlike."

Here, did our limits permit, we would call the attention of our readers to the deeply interesting fact, that so many of the ripest and most practical scholars, that ever lived, have been Platonists; and we may add, not a few of the holiest men. This fact might well make any student unwilling to yield himself to the fashionable current of ridicule about "Platonic jargon." Have deep scholarship (we may all ask) and habits of accurate investigation, a natural affinity with a vague, mystical, absurd system of philosophy? And is there legitimate relation between a piety like that of Leighton and Henry More, and useless and unintelligible speculation? We do not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

believe it; when we read such an expression of the sentiment of a man like Coleridge, as is to be found in the opening of the twelfth chapter of his Biographia Literaria, we feel inclined to say, Let us return to Athens.

Coleridge's principles are clear, whatever of abstruseness there may be in educing them; nor does he ever fail to present some grand and practically important idea to the view; and though we may not be able perfectly to trace the steps by which it is evolved, nor recognise in it any resemblance to our previous mental consciousness, yet it fills the eye with its brightness, like a city on a distant hill, seen towards evening in the setting sun, while all the interspace is hid in shade and indistinctness. The city itself may be new and strange to the traveller, and he unacquainted even with its name; yet there it is, the habitation of many human beings; the hum of the crowded streets and suburbs floats on the still evening air, and the roofs of its palaces blaze in the parting sunlight, and its gilded spires rise solemnly to heaven. Take, for instance, the thrilling conclusion of the sixth chapter in the Biographia Literaria. "This fact, (and it would not be difficult to adduce several of the same kind,) contributes to make it even probable, that all thoughts are in themselves imperishable; and that, if the intelligent faculty should be rendered more comprehensive, it would require only a different and apportioned organization, *the body celestial* instead of *the body terrestrial*, to bring before every human soul the collective experience of its whole past existence, and this, — this, perchance, is the dread book of judgment, in whose mysterious hieroglyphics every idle word is recorded! yea, in the very nature of a living spirit, it may be more possible that heaven and earth should pass away, than that a single act, a single thought, should be loosened or lost from that living chain of causes, to all whose links, conscious or unconscious, the free-will, our only absolute *self*, is co-extensive and co-present."

With what power and solemn grandeur do these thoughts, though but an incidental result of the preceding disquisition, rise upon the mind! Of a lower order, that is, from the nature of the subject not so magnificent, yet both beautiful and instructive, is the close of the seventh chapter in the same work.

Or take the conclusion of the work, sublime perhaps beyond anything which even Coleridge has written, and affecting in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deed, when in connection with it we peruse that holy apostolic letter to his god-son, the last intellectual effort of his life, concluding as, with prophetic yearning, he had expressed the wish more than eighteen years before.

"O! that with this my personal, as well as my literary life might conclude! the unquenched desire, I mean, not without the consciousness of having earnestly endeavored to kindle young minds, and to guard them against the temptations of scorners, by showing that the scheme of Christianity, as taught in the Liturgy and Homilies of our church, though not discoverable by human reason, is yet in accordance with it; that link follows link by necessary consequence; that religion soars out of the ken of reason, only where the eye of reason has reached its own horizon; and that faith is then but its continuation; even as the day softens away into the sweet twilight, and twilight, hushed and breathless, steals into the darkness. It is night, sacred night! the upraised eye views only the starry heaven, which manifests itself alone; and the outward beholding is fixed on the sparks twinkling in the awful depth, though suns of other worlds, only to preserve the soul steady and collected in its pure *act* of inward adoration to the great I AM, and to the filial WORD, that re-affirmeth it from eternity to eternity, whose choral echo is the universe."

"ΘΕΩ ΜΟΝΩ ΔΟΞΑ."

In this manner does Coleridge's mind travel onward, throwing out its treasures, principles of overawing grandeur, and thoughts of interest and power, mingled perpetually with illustrations, that are, even in themselves, both thoughts and principles. It is a solemn triumphal procession all the way. The science of metaphysics loses its barrenness,

Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella;

abstract subtleties appear not as mere skeletons, but clad in attractive flesh, living and breathing. While you are endeavoring, with intensest thought, and in meditative mood, to follow him, as he "goes bounding on his dim and perilous way," and you suppose no powers at work, but reason with her severest countenance, suddenly the whole landscape is irradiated with the fire of the imagination, and for a time you almost forget the process of reasoning you are to trace, in the glow of delight at this unanticipated and beautiful vision.

There are objects and ideas, "which their very sublimity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

renders indefinite, no less than their indefiniteness renders them sublime." Perhaps the very passages, which a critic of the old French school would complacently dispose of, as the thrice distilled essence of sublime nonsense, we should select as evidences of the unequalled power and beauty, with which Coleridge uses language and imagery in conveying the highest truths of philosophy. There is scarce any chapter in all his writings, more eloquent with the majesty of truth and the beauty of poetry, than that included in note C. in the Appendix to the Statesman's Manual. It contains a powerful description of the prurient, bustling, revolutionary spirit of French wisdom, then gone out over the civilized world, and become the spirit and character of the modern age. From the recommendation of the word of God, as the end and centre of all our studies and meditations, it passes to another book, likewise a revelation from God, the great book of his servant nature. And seldom in one and the same passage are to be witnessed such evidences of clear and profound insight, unlimited mastery over language, grandeur of imagination, and affectionate tenderness of heart.

The notion, that the true system of philosophy must necessarily be so simple, as to commend itself at first sight to the understanding of all men without dispute, or to preclude the necessity of study in the intervention of things hard to be understood, is contrary to all experience in analogy, besides being degrading in itself. It is not too much to say, that in the nature of things it must be impossible. The least approach to metaphysical *knowledge* demands such a degree of attention and study, as the multitude of men will not exercise; the *science* of metaphysics far more. If the soul be of another and a nobler nature than the body it inhabits, in just the same proportion will it require a superior degree of meditation and mental acuteness to behold or understand its laws. Men are compelled to study, even to understand the machinery of a steam-engine, with the whole connection of the parts open to sense. Is it to be supposed that psychological science can be more simple, in the common sense of the word, that is, easy to be understood, than physical science? Even if the soul were a machine, only nobler than the steam-engine, because more useful, from its application to a greater variety of purposes, it could not require *less* attention and study to understand its principles.

More simple the science of being certainly is, as the ground,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and containing the principles, of all other sciences; but for this very reason more difficult of insight, and to be *mastered* only by the highest intelligences, with longest and profoundest meditation. Can the system of the intellectual universe be imagined more easy of discovery or acquisition, than that of the physical universe? And does the true system of the latter, as evolved in the meditations and scientific investigations of Sir Isaac Newton, lie open and simple to the understandings of all men, without expense of study or profound attention? To behold the absolute ground or principle of any one phenomenon, either in the mental or physical world, is to have gained the key to the whole system. To know why an apple falls, was to have found the law of creation, as to the position of its parts. And to know why the mind *perceives* an apple, would doubtless be to discover a law of universal being. To understand law in either case, or follow it in its developments, supposes difficulties encountered and overcome by a degree of thoughtful study, for which mankind at large have neither leisure nor perseverance.

Law undiscovered, the ignorance is mystery, darkness, superstition. It is superstition in religion, materialism in philosophy, fanaticism in both. Galileo was condemned to the dungeons of the Inquisition, for asserting that the earth revolved on its axis. To him, to whom law is unknown, the movements of that dread Being who acts by it, and of the mind that acts under it, with reference to and in view of it, will inevitably appear unconnected, unintelligible; they will be misinterpreted by him, and perhaps, as ignorance is the parent of arrogance, they will be scoffed at as absurd. There are laws enunciated in the pages of Mr. Coleridge, and other pages, contemplating facts in the light of those laws, kindling with high eloquence, imparted from the meditative joy of the writer. Now, to one unacquainted with the principles, the passages produced by their influence, and translucent only in their light, would very naturally appear as destitute of meaning as the eloquent ravings of a madman. By such a one, the loftier the truth, and the nearer the source of all truth, the more mystical will it be judged. Especially, if in psychological science he has been accustomed only to the observation of phenomena, or of the operation of the faculties of the human mind, as they are enumerated in most of our books of philosophy.

Should an ignorant man enter some grand mineralogical cab-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inet, he would wonder at the folly of collecting such heaps of stones, and putting them on shelves and in glass cases with so much care; and were he to be present at some interesting lecture on the science, where the professor, surrounded by his pupils, is enunciating its laws and principles, and causing every particle of matter, from the diamond of Golconda to the common earth scooped up at the door-step, to shine in their light, with exciting interest, he would, as he beheld the enthusiasm of the teacher, and the attention of the scholar, pronounce them a set of strange beings, if not madmen. Such is the judgment of some men, whenever they contemplate a writer moving in a sphere of which they know nothing, even though he be confessedly a man of wisdom, learning, and genius!

"There is," says Mr. Coleridge, "a *philosophic* (and inasmuch as it is actualized by an effort of freedom, an artificial) consciousness, which lies beneath, or, as it were, *behind*, the spontaneous consciousness natural to all reflecting beings." —"A system, the first principle of which is to render the mind intuitive of the *spiritual* in man, (i. e. of that which lies *on the other side* of our natural consciousness,) must needs have a great obscurity for those who have never disciplined and strengthened this ulterior consciousness." The passage between these quotations, and the whole chapter from which they are taken, ought to be profoundly studied, by those who would find ultimate truth in philosophy, or know why the system, which contains it, cannot, in the common acceptation of the term, be a simple system."

The spiritual world is darkness to most minds, because of the glare and confusion, the gaudy, fantastic colors and flickering lights of the world of sense, to which the fallen soul has assimilated itself, (as certain insects turn into the color of the thing they feed on,) in a habit at war with all meditative, spiritual observation. Without remaining long, and waiting patiently, till the organs of sense cease to absorb the soul's whole activity, it will scarcely wake to the consciousness of the possession of spiritual organs, or powers of intuition for the spiritual world; much less be able to behold the countenance of truth. A man in a dark chamber must remain long before he can see anything; but gradually object after object will come into view, and the eye will have acquired a power of sight, which the full light of the sun does but diminish. In making

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all things more sensible, it weakens the sensibility and power of the optic nerve. Thus Caspar Hauser for a long time possessed an accuteness of sense, which might have been deemed a supernatural marvel; but after he had become accustomed to the strong light of day, he lost this acuteness gradually and entirely. So the soul may be said to lose its power of beholding the world of spiritual reality, of which it is a part, from the long habit of communing through the senses solely with a world of sensible glare and shadow, of which it is but a transitory tenant. Its spiritual powers, through disuse, being no longer objects of its consciousness, are even denied to have possessed any separate existence. "Déjá la nuit (says Madame de Stael, and this remark is profound as a spiritual illustration) s'avance à mes regards; mais le ciel n'est-il pas plus beau pendant la nuit? Des milliers d'étoiles le décorent. Il n'est de jour qu'un désert. Ainsi les ombres éternelles reveillent d'innombrables pensées que l'éclat de la prospérité faisait oublier."

In the same spirit the author of The Confessions of an Opium Eater observes, that "a thousand accidents may and will interpose a veil between our present consciousness and the secret inscriptions on the mind; accidents of the same sort will also rend away this veil; but alike, veiled or unveiled, the inscription remains forever; just as the stars seem to withdraw before the common light of day, whereas, in fact, we all know that it is the light which is drawn over them as a veil,—and that they are *waiting to be revealed, when the obscuring daylight shall have withdrawn.*" Thus, alas! it is the obscuring daylight, in which merely we are satisfied to live, that conceals a world of pure glory, because a world of pure truth, wholly from our vision!

There is a sense, in which the true philosophy must be simple; it will simplify all knowledge. It will be to all science, what the law of gravitation, in its discovery and application, was to astronomical science; what the law of positive and negative electricity, or of the refrangibility of light was to other different branches of natural science; or what the discovery of the circulation of the blood was to medical science. Law discovered is science revealed, in fulness and unity; fulness without perplexity, unity without sameness. It is desultory phenomena, accounted for and brought together in intelligent relation; arranged and classified in the order, beauty, and in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

telligence, imparted by the presence of one comprehensive idea. It is as the vital sap, that, circulating through the branches, gives greenness to the bud, life and freshness to the leaves, beauty and fragrance to the flower, wholesomeness and delicious flavor to the fruit. The true philosophy, though difficult of attainment in itself, will be a simplifying system, giving order and intelligent symmetry to things heretofore hidden in a supervening solution of falsehood, or looked upon as unconnected and without meaning. And this is the effect, which Leibnitz himself, in a most instructive passage, describes as the criterion of a true philosophy; namely, that it would at once explain and collect the fragments of truth scattered through systems apparently the most incongruous."

Mr. Coleridge's system of philosophy is eminently a christian system. Its foundations, intellectual and moral, as well as its guiding and shaping principles, are in the word of God. He appeals to the scriptures with a veneration, on all occasions, that is truly delightful. It was his conviction that christianity, believed in the heart, is the perfection of human reason; not the production *of* reason, but of God *for* the reason. He uttered noble sentiments in regard to the intellectual grandeur of the Bible, and its power in the education of the intellect, as well as the sanctification of the soul. "To give the history of the Bible as a *book*, would be little less than to relate the origin, or first excitement, of all the literature and science, that we now possess." "Be assured, never yet did there exist a full faith in the divine word, (by whom not immortality alone, but *light* and immortality were brought into the world,) which did not expand the intellect, while it purified the heart; which did not multiply the aims and objects of the mind, while it fixed and simplified those of the desires and passions." "Religion is the poetry and philosophy of all mankind; unites in itself whatever is most excellent in either, and while it at one and the same time calls into action, and supplies with the noblest materials, both the imaginative and the intellective faculties, superadds the interests of the most substantial and home-felt reality to both, to the poetic vision, and the philosophic idea."

He drew principles from the Bible to apply, not only to the movements of individuals, but of nations; maintaining that that book is the best statesman's manual, as well as christian's guide; and that, without its light, the most prosperous people are but a "busy ant-hill in calm and sunshine," a revolutionary

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cauldron in storm and tempest. His views in political economy were based upon it. "Men (he thought) ought to be weighed, not counted. Their *worth* ought to be the final estimate of their value." He held it, for all n authority, a more commanding requisite of their rank, to be acquainted with the principles of government in the word of God, than with the doings of human sovereigns and legislators in the history of the world.

The fact that the philosophic system of Coleridge is kindred in its spirit with the Bible, is an argument of great weight in its favor. It is its elevated spiritual character, not less than the grandeur of his imagination, that imparts such eloquence to his metaphysical disquisitions, raising his own mind and heart to such a height of enthusiasm, as few writers, on the most animating subjects, have been able to reach. Such strains of eloquence as are continually breaking forth upon the reader, could have been inspired, one is tempted to believe, only by the countenance of truth. His is a system, "that recognises a spiritual world to come, and a spiritual nature in man to move in it; spiritual presentiments and prefigurings; spiritual wants, and obligations, and principles; and grounds of conviction and action coeval with man's spiritual being. It recognises God the Creator, and man made in his image; but wilfully fallen, the subject of an evil nature.

It is not merely a history of the human understanding. It asserts the dignity of reason, as the mind's organ of inward sense, whereby it has "the power of acquainting itself with invisible realities or spiritual objects." It recognises "truths that are either absolutely certain, or necessarily true for the human mind from the laws and constitution of the mind itself." It recognises "spiritual truths, which must derive their evidence from within, which, whoever rejects, neither will he believe them, though a man were to rise from the dead to confirm them." It strongly asserts the evil of permitting the mere understanding to usurp the dominion of the pure reason. It exhibits the entire difference between the two faculties; "the legitimate exercise of the understanding, and its limitation to objects of sense; with the errors, both of unbelief and misbelief, that result from its extension beyond the sphere of possible experience. Wherever the forms of reasoning, appropriate only to the *natural* world, are applied to *spiritual* realities, it may be truly said, that the more strictly logical the reasoning is in all its *parts*, the more irrational it is as *a whole*."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It declares that "there is more in man than can be rationally referred to the life of nature, and the mechanism of organization; that he has a will, not included in this mechanism; and that the will is, in an especial and prëeminent sense, the spiritual part of our humanity." He demonstrates that "intelligence or self-consciousness is impossible, except by and in a will. The self-conscious spirit, therefore, is a will; and freedom must be assumed as a *ground* of philosophy, and can never be deduced from it." He contends that the will, in its very essence, must originate its own acts; and that "by an act to which it had determined itself, it has subjected itself to the determination of nature, (in the language of St. Paul, to the law of the flesh,) and consequently, is both corrupt and in bondage; "the freedom of a finite will being possible under this condition only, that it has become one with the will of God." He asserts the power of the Divine will to act in the human will; and "utterly disclaims the idea, that any *human* intelligence, with whatever power it might manifest itself, is *alone* adequate to the office of restoring health to the will." He asserts the reality of the law of conscience and the idea of God.

"God creates man in His own image. To be the image of his own eternity created He man! Of eternity and self-existence what other likeness is possible, in a finite being, but immortality, and moral self-determination? In addition to sensation, perception, and practical judgment (instinctive or acquirable) concerning the notices furnished by the organs of perception, all which, in *kind* at least, the dog possesses in common with his master; in *addition* to these God gave us REASON, and with reason he gave us reflective SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS; gave us PRINCIPLES, distinguished from the maxims and generalizations of outward experience, by their absolute and essential universality and necessity; and above all, by superadding to reason the mysterious faculty of free-will, and consequent personal amenability, he gave us CONSCIENCE." This passage, from the fifteenth essay in the first volume of The Friend, though "the mere annunciation of a magnificent theme," does yet constitute, with the eloquent sentences that follow, an epitome of the truths "demonstrated and developed, explained, illustrated, and exemplified," in all the philosophical works of Coleridge.

Now, putting aside the question, whether this system will bear, as in truth it invites and encourages, profound investiga-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, surely there is in it something so ennobling to the human being, so animating in the contemplation, that it arrests the soul at once in admiration; it is attractive, because it is composed of great and commanding realities; it makes man a being of an order so much superior to the rank, which any philosophy of the mere understanding attributes to his nature, that there is nothing more to be desired, by any sympathizing, elevated mind, than that it should be found true. It would at once make the science of psychology the most interesting and exciting of all sciences, the source of interest and the enlightening sun in all; comprehending in itself all that can permanently awaken the immortal mind, the relations of the soul to God and the spiritual world, as well as its connection with the world of sense, and the object and value of that connection. Well does the American editor of the Aids to Reflection (comparing its tenor with the ethics of Brown and Paley) declare, that the metaphysical views contained in this work, afford "materials for a moral system so much more rational and satisfying, so much more consistent with our moral feelings, and our idea of the Divine Being, as will go far to sustain the truth of these views themselves."

Whence is it, we are tempted to ask with astonishment, and why is it, that man should scoff at that alone in the science of being, which wears the aspect, the image of divinity, and rest content with that alone, which is akin to earth, flattering to the vanity of the mere understanding, and which has nothing godlike or supernatural, or demanding the exercise of self-conscious intelligence, or spiritual faith? Surely, an organ of intuitive vision of spiritual realities and truths, and a free-will, that is not nature, nor subject to the mechanism of cause and effect, are desirable possessions to the human soul. And because they are possessions that cannot come through the medium of the senses, is the idea of them therefore grossly absurd?

Yet such is man, that a system, which refers him to his own consciousness, and to the realities of his inward being, must, on that very account, prove ungrateful to his perverted feelings.

"Moving about in worlds not realized!"

Alive to the sensible, dead to the spiritual! Taking refuge in the hum and bustle of the outward, from the accusing silence

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the inward world! Alive to material, and in themselves, lifeless results, dead to their living principles! Shutting the eye of reason on the eternal forms of substance and reality, towards which it is turned, and looking through the understanding, to judge according to sense, the sensible shadows with which the world is filled. Living by sight, instead of faith, both in intellect and morals!

The same obliquity and darkness in the will, which leads man to forget, neglect, and disobey his God, makes him turn his back upon truth in its grounds and principles, forget the nature of spirit amidst phenomena and experiment, and give himself up to the guidance of the understanding instead of the reason. To suppose that the influence of his fall would not extend to his intellect would not be less absurd, than to imagine that the tides would ebb and flow with the same regularity were the moon hurled from her orbit. Man loves to busy himself about the temporal part of his being, instead of the eternal. Great truths would bring him to God; the soul of science would do the same; he must shut himself up to little truths, and feed on the husks of external knowledge, phenomenal, experimental, fragmentary, partial, unconnected. He *loves* to do this. It is depravity in the intellect. A meditative habit would, in the contemplation of truth and being, law and idea, inevitably lead to God.

The "importance of speculative meditation, even for the worldly interests of mankind," is a great and interesting topic, especially for an age, in which meditation is becoming rare, and contempt for old usages fashionable. In living *by* sense, man mistakes the true interest, even *of* sense. It was one of Mr. Coleridge's greatest remarks, that "by *celestial* observations alone can *terrestrial* charts be constructed scientifically." Even in natural science, no unity can be learned by mere experiment. Amazing discoveries of powers and affinities may be made, but no law discovered. Have great philosophers blundered upon law in experiment, or have they contemplated law in meditation, and then gone to experiment for the proof? The observation of phenomena may suggest solutions, or set the mind at work to find them; and among many guesses the truth may be hit; but it is only law that can prophecy phenomena. The result of experiment would seem to indicate so and so, is the language of the experimental philosopher, groping after external clues. If my reasoning be correct, such

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and such phenomena must result, is the language of the meditative philosopher, contemplating principles.

"The knowledge of *spiritual* truth is of necessity immediate and intuitive; and the world, or natural man, possesses no higher intuitions, than those of the pure *sense*, which are the subjects of *mathematical* science." Now, it is the office of reason to behold absolute principles; and *spiritual* intuitions are its world of action, especially if it be at one with faith. It is the office of the understanding to behold those principles acting in sense, and to follow them thus developed. The face of reason is turned towards God and the spiritual world; the face of the understanding points to the senses, and the world of material existence. To the eye of reason there is a hemisphere of glory spread out, and orbs of light hanging in the infinite expanse. To the eye of the understanding there is earth only, and its dark shadows, irradiated by beams reflected from that world of substance and spiritual glory, towards which reason looks with the calmness of intuitive vision. Understanding follows the developments of the laws of mind in inert matter, but, if left to itself, judges those developments to be mere material power, and recognises nothing *but* matter, and constructs a philosophy in respect to all man's duties, interests, obligations, and belief, akin to the grovelling nature of materialism, and making him, in fact, but a higher order of animal. It can search out the powers of nature, so called; turn the world into a vast laboratory of experiments; and fill it with sagacious combinations, all tending to adorn man's earthly tabernacle with things that shall perish in the using, and to foster man's pride in what he deems the rapid advance of his own perfectibility. It goes thoughtlessly on, wherever the discovery of new appearances in nature leads it; and of itself would never dream that it had anything else to do but just to turn from everything inward, and examine and improve everything outward. It goes on, constructing new hives for the human bee to work in, where honey may be made in the smallest possible compass of space, and with the least possible expense of labor.

The mechanical philosophy, constructed under the guidance of such a faculty, becomes

> "A puppet motion,
> That goes with screws, the notion of a notion."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It reduces our intellectual and moral being, with all its operations, to a level with the compulsory movements of blind and dead matter, making the soul, as an independent being, a nonexistence, or nothing better than "the mere quicksilver plating behind a looking-glass," whose only office is to throw back the images passively received from the world of sensation. The glass is the senses, the quicksilver the soul!

Under the influence of such a faculty, and of a philosophy constructed by it, whether materialism be acknowledged or not, in potential essence it prevails. Common minds, and perhaps philosophic minds, unconsciously, reason and act under its influence;

> "——————— and themselves they cheat
> With noisy emptiness of learned phrase,
> Their subtle fluids, imparts, essences,
> Self-working tools, uncaused effects, and all
> Those blink omniscients, those almighty slaves,
> Untenanting creation of its God!"

And all things, or rather, all products in the intellectual world, grow up in its unwholesome atmosphere, so stunted and dwarfed, that the commanding power over the soul, which belongs to the results of spiritual principles, is lost, nor does the mind, without difficulty, recognise in them its own birth-right. In that atmosphere, they are like the fungous mushroom plants, that have grown in the unwholesome shade of a tropical forest; or like the white and sickly aspect of cellar vegetation, compared with the healthy green, and vigorous, refreshing glow, of that nourished by nature in the open sun and air. The influence of false philosophy, when the falsehood leans towards materialism, is a *malaria* to the general intellect, a brooding fog over the whole mind of the age, scarce noticed but by some few, who have climbed up a great eminence where the air is pure, yet undermining the constitution, and diffusing everywhere a pestilential, stupifying power. Its influence on the religious character of the age is not less deleterious.

The same guidance of the mere mechanical understanding, which denies life, and strikes death through the philosophy of the human soul, unspiritualizes that sacred word, which is the source of life, and reduces its living principles to a dead letter. Scientific theology cannot exist under such an influence. Neither of God, nor of our true selves, were the philosophy real which denies intuitive principles, could we gain an idea. "The existence of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an infinite spirit, of an intelligent and holy will, must, on this system, be mere articulated motions of the air. For as the function of the human understanding is no other than merely (to appear to itself) to combine and to apply the phenomena of the universe; and as these derive all their reality from the primary sensations, and the sensations again all *their* reality from the impressions *ab extra;* a God not visible, audible, or tangible, can exist only in the sounds and letters, that form his name and attributes. If in ourselves there be no such faculties as those of the will and the scientific reason, we must either have an *innate* idea of them, which would overthrow the whole system, or we can have no idea at all."

Mr. Coleridge reduces "the paralogisms, by the magic of which such a faith could find admission into minds formed for a nobler creed, to one sophism as their common genus; the mistaking the *conditions* of a thing for its *causes* and *essence;* and the process, by which we arrive at the knowledge of a faculty, for the faculty itself. The air I breathe is the *condition* of my life, not its cause. We could never have learned that we had eyes but by the process of seeing; yet having seen, we know that the eyes must have pre-existed, in order to render the process of sight possible." Again, "we learn all things, indeed, by *occasion* of experience; but the very facts so learned, force us inward on the antecedents, that must be pre-supposed in order to render experience itself possible." Again, defining the speculative reason as "the *vis theoretica, et scientifica*, or the power by which we produce, or aim to produce unity, necessity, and universality in all our knowledge, by means of principles *a priori;*" he says, "by knowledge *a priori* we do not mean, that we can know anything previously to experience, which would be a contradiction in terms; but, that having once known it by occasion of experience, (i. e. something acting upon us from without,) we then know, that it must have pre-existed, or the experience itself would have been impossible." A similar explanation may be found in a note on page 152 of the American Edition of the Friend.

On page third of the Aids to Reflection, Coleridge beautifully remarks that our living soul, "in spite of the philosophy (falsely so called) which mistakes the causes, the conditions, and the occasions of our becoming *conscious* of certain truths and realities, for the truths and realities themselves, is a house *not built with hands* and gloriously furnished." Again,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"by a science, I here mean any chain of truths, that are either absolutely certain, or necessarily true for the human mind, from the laws and constitution of the mind itself. In neither case is our conviction derived, or capable of receiving any addition from outward experience or empirical data, — i. e. matter of fact *given* to us through the medium of our senses, — though these data *may have been the occasion, or may even be an indispensable condition, of our reflecting on the former, and thereby becoming conscious of the same.*"

Surely, these distinctions are clear, accurate and important. They reveal the wide difference between a system which supposes that we may learn all things by sensation, and reflection on sensation, that is, by an operation of the mere understanding, judging according to sense; and the infinitely nobler system, which asserts a world of intuitive principles, certain from the nature of being, and discoverable only by the pure reason; truths, to the knowledge of which mere sensation, or reflection on sensation, could never raise us, though it may awaken within us the *consciousness* of their existence, and lead us to the earnest, stedfast, and meditative application of our organs of inward sense to their examination. Sensation, and the reflective operations of the understanding on the same, are but as steps in a ladder, up which we ascend to the region of spiritual truth, the empire of reason; the steps are not themselves psychological truths, nor could reflection on them merely, reveal to us those truths; and even at the topmost rounds of the ladder, it is the foot still, which is placed upon them, while the eye looks abroad upon the truth's spiritual empyrean.

If the philosophy of Coleridge be true, the system of Locke is perhaps erroneous, not so much by what it teaches, as by what it denies; though indeed to deny truth is to teach error; and in regard to the moral coloring of his system, one of his admirers and editors has remarked that he went to work, "at the very entrance on his essay, pointing out the true origin of all our passions and affections, namely, *sensitive pleasure and pain*, and accordingly directing us to the proper principle and end of virtue, *private happiness in each individual.*" It is rightly named *of the understanding*, and as the history of the human understanding, as an analysis and classification of its powers, and its operations in regard to ideas furnished by pure reason, it is a master-piece of acuteness. But then, if the distinction between these two faculties, and the whole grand

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fabric erected on it, be not an utter fable, it is a treatise only on a portion of the human being, and that portion the least elevated, — placing, moreover, that portion for the whole, and laboring to resolve all ideas, as well as facts and appearances, into the work of the faculty, judging according to sense. With such a philosophy, it is evident that, instead of raising the soul to the contemplation of heights not to be reached, and truths not to be understood by the mere understanding, his labor would be to bring all truths, spiritual and temporal, down to the level of the same faculty judging according to sense. And at the close of certain chapters in his great work, as if there were, even in his own mind, a lurking consciousness, that a knowledge of the subjects of which it treats could not but appear unattainable through mere sensation, he adds a section, specially advising the student that there is nothing here, but what might be known through sense. In regard to the powers of the mind, the labor of the work is not an elevating, but a depreciating one, and its influence over the feelings must inevitably be corresponsive. May not this be the reason, why the soul of the student, in the pursuit of such a system, is so little excited with admiration, or made to thrill with awe, as in the presence of sublime and transcendental truth? So far as we remember our experience in the study of it, we passed through it as on a dead uninteresting level of phenomena dissected, dried, and arranged, with all the skilfulness of anatomical knowledge, and reminding us all the while of Burke's celebrated saying, that nothing can be conceived more hard, than the heart of a thorough-bred metaphysician.

It is one of the most remarkable indications which way the truth lies, that even in the examination of sensible objects, philosophers are coming to conclusions above the power of the faculty judging according to sense. Physiology itself, in the acknowledgment of life in nature, is leading to a philosophy of life *above* nature, in the science of true being. Sensation itself, and the world of sense examined in the light of reason, or even questioned by the mere understanding, make answer that they have in themselves a mystery of life, which can never be understood or explained from itself, nor by reflection on the data given to the mind through sensation, be they facts or phenomena, but by a reference to the powers of the mind, and to truths discoverable by pure reason, and necessarily true from the constitution of the mind itself. Nothing but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meditation on the laws of life in the soul, can reveal to the soul the laws of life in sense.

What, indeed, is universal nature, but a world of external occasions, to awaken consciousness of the powers of the spiritual world within us? The connection of the soul with sense, of the spiritual with the material, is a great mystery. Matter, informed and enlivened by intellectual power, is as a tablet of wax, on which the soul reads the symbols of its own laws and intuitions. The world of sense, inscribed with these living characters, the result of spiritual powers in the observer, wears only a borrowed dignity, a dignity borrowed from the ideas of the soul. Now what can be said of that system, which contemplates the world of sensation as the origin of those ideas? It is as if the mind of Milton, passing into dotage after the production of Paradise Lost, had read that work as the result of a peculiar combination of various forms of matter, the ink, the paper, and the printer's types. Or as if, having forgotten it all, he had set himself to learn it, as the production of one *ab extra*, a power without himself. Even so, the soul has wandered from itself to the blind study of sensations, as if they were the *sources* of power and knowledge in the soul, instead of exhibitions of that power, and *occasions* of that knowledge. What in fact is but a reflection of our own being, has been supposed a property of the outward world; even as men, moving in the desert, imagine the reflection, or rather projection, of their own persons in the distant *mirage*, to be a company of other travellers.

Behold the fearfulness of this mistake! The heaven, reflected in the bosom of a quiet lake, is gazed on in the reflection only, and as if the water and the unfathomable image were all one, and the glory of the image the result of power residing in the water. Thenceforth, the *real* heaven is forgotten, the aspect of the beholder is only downward, astronomy itself is studied in the uncertain lake, and the science is as disturbed and void of unity, as the image of that reflected heaven is broken, when a pebble thrown in, or a breath of wind moving, ripples the surface of the water. Even so, the very laws of man's spiritual being are studied in uncertain sensations, which, themselves, are often deified, as the source of all his knowledge. The world of spiritual being and principles, of which the purest forms of matter, even the glory and the beauty of the external world, are but a dim, sombre, and dense reflection,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is forgotten, nay, its very separate existence is questioned or denied; the soul is shut up to sense, and man is left to grope for spiritual knowledge amidst its fantastic images and uncertainties, its unsteady shadowings forth or developments of the living power that informs it, where, if at any time the soul seems to recognise, among the broken fragments, glimpses of great principles, remembrances of the heaven which is their source, if still, amidst all the whirring of external machinery, it experiences those

> "Blank misgivings of a creature
> Moving about in worlds not realized,
> High instincts, before which our mortal nature
> Did tremble like a guilty thing surprised!"

if it raises involuntarily those

> "——————Obstinate questionings
> Of sense and outward things,"

that feeling of difficulty, and contradiction, and unfitness, which cannot be utterly repressed, and that faith in a higher life than nature, which even sense itself suggests, it is deemed guilty of transcendent mysticism, and visionary ravings. The yearnings after that, with which alone its immortal nature can be satisfied, the attempts to break its prison-house and soar away, are condemned as a reproach on the established condition of grovelling, and as indications of commencing insanity. Yet for all this,

> "Those shadowy recollections,
> Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
> Are yet a master-light of all our seeing,"

shall prevail. They cannot be concealed or darkened. They arrest attention,

> "Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
> Our noisy years seem moments in the being
> Of the eternal silence; truths, that wake
> To perish never;
> Which neither listlessness, nor mad endeavor,
> Nor man, nor boy,
> Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
> Can utterly abolish or destroy!"

amidst the warring of the various elements of materialism,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their voice is 'Peace! be still! Listen to the mandate of the power that controls you, and acknowledge God!'

It is a truth (or call it a hope or belief) which we should not suppose any elevated mind would feel willing to surrender, that there are intuitive principles and ideas, inseparably and immutably connected with, and growing out of, the original constitution of man's being. If this be so, it is asked, how happens it, that ideas, the idea of God, for instance, which are the common property and birth-right of mankind, should be obliterated, apparently, in such multitudes, and so indistinct in all. Here we might answer with the great apostle. "Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, but professing themselves to be wise *became fools, and changed the truth of God into a lie, and did not like to retain God in their knowledge.*" And this would be a just account of the difficulty; that mankind have so assimilated themselves to sense, that they have lost all *consciousness* of the existence of aught higher within them. But this is all they have lost. The ideas, though buried and forgotten, are there, and would be objects of consciousness, were this inner sense once awakened and sharpened by exercise; nor ought the absence of consciousness in regard to them, to be assumed as proof of their nonentity, nor the *occasions*, on the presentation of which they are drawn out into the consciousness by its own act, asserted as the external making known of truths from abroad. Amidst all the ruins, moral and intellectual, in which the greater part of mankind are lying, the features of those truths, though mutilated, are yet oftentimes to be distinguished; offering to the denier of aught of spiritual intuition in man, a more difficult problem for solution, than the supposition that they are a part of his constitution in the image of his Maker. When we see in a newly split rock the marks of animal or vegetable petrifactions, the image of a brake or a fish impressed in the substance of the stone, we attribute it at once to its right source; nor can the soul do otherwise than believe, that the presence and agency of life have been there. There are such *fossil remains* of godlike intuitions to be found in man, in his rudest and most ignorant condition. Images there are in his soul, of supernatural existences; impressions, that must have been made in the very constitution of his nature, *while the rock was forming*, and that, however faintly and hardly to be delineated,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

indicate a supernatural origin, and point to spiritual reality and life, and argue the existence in the soul of an organ of intuitive discernment of principles.

The philosophical works of Coleridge, already published, profound as they are in themselves, were yet considered by their author as a mere preparation for the full development of his "system of philosophy for a christian man." For the appearance of that work many have been long watching with impatient interest. We have seen, as yet, but one or two of the glowing letters of this illuminated manuscript, though enough to know that it is a flood of spiritual light. We know not whether the work, said to be now in a course of publication, be the same referred to repeatedly by him, apparently under different titles. Some of these references our readers will be curious to see, were it only for the view they give of what the poet and philosopher expected to accomplish. In the eighth chapter of the Biographia Literaria, he observes; "I shall not dilate farther on this subject, because it will (if God grant health and permission) be treated of at large and systematically, in a work which I have been many years preparing, on the PRODUCTIVE LOGOS, human and divine; with, and as the introduction to, a full commentary on the gospel of St. John." Again, afterwards, in a note on the works of Saumarez, he says, "In the preface to the work, which I have already announced, on the *logos*, I have exhibited in detail the merits of this writer and genuine philosopher, who needed only to have taken his foundations somewhat deeper and wider, to have superseded a considerable part of my labors."

The first volume of the Biographia Literaria was not concluded, but breaks off in the very middle of a sentence, (to which point, its author says, "the work had been transcribed for the press,") with a letter from one of Mr. Coleridge's friends, advising him not to print the remainder of the chapter on the imagination, because of its extreme compression and abstruseness, for which the minds of his readers would be utterly unprepared, and of which they would have a right to complain in a work like the Biographia Literaria. "I say, in the *present* work. In that greater work, to which you have devoted so many years, and study so intense and various, it will be in its proper place." "Be assured, that I look forward anxiously to your great book on the CONSTRUCTIVE PHILOSOPHY, which you have promised and announced; and that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I will do my best to understand it." The letter is admirable; though often and earnestly have we wished that it never had been written, since its effect was the reservation of the chapter for a future publication, and the statement only of its main result.

On page 104, of the Aids to Reflection, its author again announces his great work thus: "The whole scheme of the christian faith, including *all* the articles of belief common to the Greek and Latin, the Roman and Protestant church, with the three-fold proof, that it is *ideally*, *morally*, and *historically* true, will be found exhibited and vindicated in a proportionally large work, the principal labor of my life since manhood, and which I am now preparing for the press, under the title, Assertion of Religion, as necessarily *involving* revelation; and of christianity, as the only revelation of permanent and universal validity."

One passage, in the letter above referred to, is so masterly a description of the feelings of its writer amidst the depths of Mr. Coleridge's philosophy, that we cannot but quote it.

"The effect on my *feelings*, on the other hand, I cannot better represent, than by supposing myself to have known only our light, airy, modern chapels of ease, and then, for the first time, to have been placed, and left alone, in one of our largest gothic cathedrals, in a gusty moonlight night of autumn; 'now in glimmer, and now in gloom;' often in palpable darkness, not without a chilling sensation of terror; then suddenly emerging into broad, yet visionary lights, with colored shadows of fantastic shapes, yet all decked with holy insignia and mystic symbols; and ever and anon, coming out full upon pictures, and stone-work images of great men, with whose *names* I was familiar, but which looked upon me with countenances, and an expression, the most dissimilar to all I had been in the habit of connecting with those names. Those whom I had been taught to venerate as almost superhuman in magnitude of intellect, I found perched in little fret-work niches, as grotesque dwarfs; while the grotesques, in my hitherto belief, stood guarding the high altar with all the characters of apotheosis. In short, what I had supposed substances, were thinned away into shadows, while everywhere shadows were deepened into substances:"

> "If substance may be called, what shadow seemed,
> For each seemed either!"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We find it difficult to close this article, without a word upon Mr. Coleridge's poetry, which may well be regarded as a luminous commentary on his philosophy. The same spirit animated both, and either might be called the soul of the other. If the tenderness and pathos of the heart of a true poet were never absent from his trains of speculative thinking, the meditative habit of the true philosopher is equally manifest in all his poetical efforts. Even in the translation of Wallenstein, the spirit of his philosophy is present, not less than the power of his imagination; that great work conveys almost as adequate an image both of his philosophical and poetical being, as can be found even in his own eminently original compositions. The full amount which Mr. Coleridge has accomplished in philosophy, is yet to be determined; what he might have done in poetry, every individual feels, who can justly appreciate the power and beauty of all that he published to the world. Nor can we cease to lament that he should have passed through life, without dedicating his powers to the composition of a grand philosophic poem.

It makes us weep inwardly, as often as we read his "meditative poems," and experience, again and again, in the deepest recesses of the soul, a sense of their extreme beauty, to think of that noble mind, and the many noble schemes it left unaccomplished. Whether from causes within or without, in his own power to have removed or not; whether he were Prometheus bound, the vultures raging at his heart, compelled to waste his vast intellectual energy in indignant lamentations to the wind, or Prometheus unbound, but destitute of self-control, indolent, and wasting as often as using the fire from heaven's altar; it makes but little difference in our sense of bitter regret for the loss we feel we have sustained. Though aware of the value of those efforts of his intellect, which in his prose works he has given to posterity, and that perhaps his mind would not have been employed for more lasting benefit to his race in the exercise of his poetic powers, yet we cannot bear to think that such a genius should have dwelt among us, for so many long years, capable of so working, that without all doubt he might have produced a poem, which should have taken its place beside the Paradise Lost, a perfect orb of light for all future generations to gaze upon, a fountain of purity, strength and refreshment for the world's mind to have resorted to; that he should have been among us, and left us at length, with only

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

here and there a solitary polished shaft, a disconnected pedestal, a half-constructed arched way, of all the materials for that magnificent temple which he might have erected.

The grandeur and exceeding beauty of these fragments show what the glory of that temple would have been; for even now, there is no living genius, or if one, only one, who could bring a stone to compare with the precious workmanship of shaft, pedestal or arch. The very dreams of his mind were of richer stuff, of more spiritual texture, and extraordinary beauty, than all the poets since the time of Milton could supply. Images, that almost in themselves were poems, seemed the habitual medium, through which his mind communed even with itself. His familiar meditations were poetry, and his poetry the uttered language of a meditative mood. His imagination was eminently original and creative; an architect, powerful at any moment to upraise

> "A wilderness of building, sinking far,
> And self-withdrawn into a wondrous depth,
> Far sinking into splendor, — without end!"

And language of such spiritual beauty, that it was worthy to be the servitor to his imagination, and able to embody its ideal creations in the vividest reality of the archetype, almost with the very breath of the soul upon them, fell from him with no more apparent effort, than the surging music of a wind-harp, as it rises and falls with the movement of the passing breeze.

If ever a spontaneous poet existed, Coleridge was certainly one. Sweetness of feeling, depth and sublimity of thought, the most beautiful imagery, and language that seemed itself a shining atmosphere, both of thought and imagery, seemed in him not so much the products, as parts of his intellectual being. He had all the stores of learning at command, and his genius dwelt among them like a permeating spirit, transfusing all things into an expression of itself, the soul of all. If to his great natural powers he had added the persevering fixedness of purpose, that distinguished his friend Wordsworth, in the realization of some permanent work, doubtless the planet added to the firmament of England's literary glory would have shone brighter than his friend's. It would have been a morning star. For, with what perfectness of execution is ideal beauty realized in those short meditative poems of his, that seemed, in the movement of his genius, an exercise as natural as to breathe. Perfect gems they are in themselves, and bearing proof, that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deeper in the soil existed materials, where castellated palaces might have been hewn from one great diamond.

That meditative pathos, which he describes as one of Wordsworth's most valuable characteristics, existed also in himself, with a power much more concentrated. His mind was always finding symbols of spiritual being, and proofs of intelligent agency, indwelling and outshining through every lineament in the speaking face of nature. And he loved, in the exercise of his poetical genius, to shed over all images and things, and combinations from created objects, a softening, hallowed, and sacredly significant light; even like that poured at sunset over all the rising landscape, making that lovelier, which before was lovely, and giving beauty and intelligent expression to that which seemed to have none; till it appears to the beholder as if all nature, silent through excess of gratitude, were entranced in an act of evening adoration to the Eternal. It is the peculiar and invaluable characteristic, both of his poetry and philosophy, to inform everything with meaning; he draws aside the dark veil of materialism, and reveals earth, air, and sea, instinctive with intelligent life; everywhere we behold an Omnipresent Deity, all things, visible and invisible, unfolding the dread self-existing cause and ground of being, as living symbols of his power and glory. Creation is no more a temple of omnipotence without its soul. As poet or philosopher, through imagination combining and describing symbols of truth, or in philosophy explaining the language of its hieroglyphics in nature, he peopled the universe with praises.

> "————— Solitude was not.
> He heard upon the wind the articulate voice
> Of God; and angels to his sight appeared,
> Crowning the glorious hills of Paradise;
> Or, through the groves gliding like morning mist,
> Enkindled by the sun. He sate and talked
> With winged messengers; who daily brought
> To his small island in the etherial deep
> Tidings of joy and love."

He has seemed to live and breathe, to converse and philosophize through the medium of poetry, as the highest form of truth. The few fragments we have in his works are only portions of an unintermitting process, rarely visible, that under all circumstances was going on within his mind. There, day and night, powers rarely conferred on man were working, and har-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

monists constructing imaginable melodies, of which the strains we have heard were only snatches made audible at distant intervals. It is as if we stood beside a great gothic cathedral, in the heart of which a full choir are performing in unbroken circle the grand and solemn compositions of Handel or Mozart, and sometimes in the half-opening of the aisle doors, a closing harmony, or a powerful swell from the mid-volume of sound, bursts forth upon us.

"——————— Such delights
As float to earth, permitted visitants,
When, in some hour of solemn jubilee,
The massy gates of paradise are thrown
Wide open, and forth come in fragments wild
Sweet echoes of unearthly melodies,
And odors, snatched from beds of amaranth,
And they, that from the crystal river of life
Spring up on freshened wing, ambrosial gales!"

The versatility of his genius is proved in the success with which he has tried almost every style in poetry. His power over the supernatural, and in the province of the affections, and in the description of natural beauty, especially in the revelation of mind in nature, is always eminent. A master of thought, he is equally a master of language, in the beauty and purity of words, and in the sweetness and seemingly spontaneous harmony and melody, with which they flow together. The incomparable grace, simplicity, and richness of his language, carry us back to the freshest and most delightful age of the English tongue. His power in its use is exhibited, as clearly as any where, in the translation of Wallenstein. Many a passage in that work he has composed in such sort, that one might easily persuade himself he is reading Shakspeare. Our limits compel us to refrain; but do not our readers, while perusing a passage like the following, involuntarily exclaim, here breathes the very soul of the bard of Avon?

"Lo there! the Soldier, rapid architect!
Builds his light town of canvas, and at once
The whole scene moves and bustles momently,
With arms, and neighing steeds, and mirth, and quarrel,
The motley market fills; the roads, the streams
Are crowded with new freights, trade stirs and hurries!
But on some morrow morn, all suddenly,
The tents drop down, the horde renews its march.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dreary and solitary as a churchyard,
The meadow and down-trodden seed-plot lie
And the year's harvest is gone utterly."

Or this:

" Oh day thrice lovely! when at length the soldier
Returns home into life; when he becomes
A fellow-man among his fellow-men.
The colors are unfurled, the cavalcade
Marshals, and now the buzz is hushed, and hark!
Now the soft peace-march beats, home, brothers, home!
The caps and helmets are all garlanded
With green boughs, the last plundering of the fields.
The city gates fly open of themselves,
They need no longer the petard to tear them.
The ramparts are all filled with men and women,
With peaceful men and women, that send onward
Kisses and welcomings upon the air
Which they make breezy with affectionate features.
From all the towers rings out the merry peal,
The joyous vespers of a bloody day.
Oh happy man! Oh fortunate! for whom
The well-known door, the faithful arms are open,
The faithful tender arms with mute embracing."

Did our limits permit the extract, the beautiful tale of Selma, printed in the appendix to the tragedy of Remorse, would be a passage more exquisite, we think, in itself, and more like Shakspeare, than almost any other portion of Mr. Coleridge's poetry.

The *sublimity* of Mr. Coleridge's poetical genius would have been proved by the hymn before sunrise in the Vale of Chamouny, were there no other evidence of it. Perhaps there is but one other passage in the English language, of similar length, so truly sublime; and that is, the expulsion of the rebel angels from heaven by the Messiah, at the close of the sixth book of the Paradise Lost. In like manner, the *magnificence* of his genius would have been unquestionable, had he never written any other pieces but "The Frost at Midnight," or "This Lime-Tree Bower my Prison," or the "Ode to Dejection," or even the dreamy fragment of the "Vision of Kubla Khan." Almost any one of the pieces in the Sibylline Leaves, especially of those which he has classed under the title of "Meditative Poems," would have put equally beyond question the greatness of his genius in respect to philosophic thought and meditative pathos. Its vivid and fantastic power in exhibit-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the wildness and splendor and mystery of supernatural things, as personified and realized in description, sometimes in beauty, sometimes in terror, sometimes in awful obscurity, sometimes in a glare like that from midnight conflagrations, "now in glimmer and now in gloom," yet always with singular boldness, is familiar to every reader of the "War Eclogue," of the "Ancient Mariner," and of "Christabel." Then too, its domestic tenderness and sweetness, its purity in love, unsullied as the flowers that drink the dew, its mildness and affectionate friendliness, its entire freedom from misanthropy, its current of energetic thought, combined with healthful energy of feeling, and its exquisite and quiet accuracy in pictures of shade and sunshine, and shrubs, and trees, and goodly scenes in nature;

"———————— Here the bleak mount;
The bare bleak mountain, speckled thin with sheep;
Grey clouds, that, shadowing, spot the sunny fields;
And river, now with bushy rocks o'erbrowed,
Now winding bright and full with naked banks;
And seats and lawns, the abbey and the wood,
And cots, and hamlets, and faint city-spire;
The channel there, the islands and white sails,
Dim coasts, and cloudlike hills, and shoreless ocean; —"

all these, with kindred qualities, are displayed in many of his pieces, in most delightful union. Take, for instance, the poem from which the preceding lines are selected, entitled "Reflections on having left a Place of Retirement;" with what sweet simplicity of description does it open; it should be compared with the preceding piece, "The Eolian Harp," which is still more beautiful, the opening lines being a description of the same scene at evening.

"Low was our pretty cot: our tallest rose
Peep'd at the chamber-window. We could hear
At silent noon, and eve, and early morn,
The sea's faint murmur. In the open air
Our myrtles blossomed; and across the porch
Thick jasmins twined; the little landscape round
Was green and woody, and refreshed the eye."

Delightful, indeed, are Mr. Coleridge's descriptions of nature, imbued, as they always are, with a coloring from his own heart; "a light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud, enveloping the earth." A stream of life is poured through creation, and a voice is sent forth from the soul, to be echoed back from visi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ble things, as if it were indeed the answer of a soul dwelling in them, and constituting the principle of material beauty, and "of all sweet sounds the life and element."

In general Mr. Coleridge's images flow through his poetry like a water-brook through a green pasture. He possessed, too, that power of genius, which condenses its imagery, and presents it in general terms, for the mind of the reader to carry into detail; that power which, by one word or circumstance, reveals a wide unmeasured vast, as a flash of lightning in a dark night will light up the whole horizon to the traveller; that power, which so operates on the mind of the reader, that the part undescribed, yet called up by the signal of the poet, shall be more powerful than the part described, which is merely the signal that the poet uses, as if he had pointed with his finger and said, look, it comes. The difference between true poets lies eminently in the different degrees in which this power is possessed. It makes the difference between poetry that produces a confused impression by a profusion of brilliant epithets and details, and that which calls up in the mind, by single, simple words and well-selected circumstances, more than in such detail could be conveyed in volumes. Image after image presents whole landscapes, and word after word constitutes, as it were, the key-note to strains of unwritten melody. The language of a great poet is a sort of hieroglyphics for the imagination. Detail is the work of mere fancy; the power of conversing with the soul through the medium of these comprehensive hieroglyphics is imagination. Wordsworth presents a noble instance of the exertion of this power from Milton. "Hear," says he, "this mighty poet, speaking of the Messiah going forth to expel from heaven the rebellious angels;

> "Attended by ten thousand thousand saints
> He onward came; far off his coming shone;"

the retinue of saints, and the person of the Messiah himself, lost almost, and merged in the splendor of that indefinite abstraction, "His coming!"

It is injustice to characterize Mr. Coleridge's poetical works as fragments; nor would they, if productions of an inferior mind, ever be so characterized. It is our sense of the magnificence of his genius, that dwarfs, as it were, its pub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished fruits in our view. Little, comparatively, as he has given us in quantity, it is much in quality; nor ought we to utter the voice of regret, when pages of *such* poetry are before us.

> "Long may the Spring,
> Quietly as a sleeping infant's breath,
> Send up cold waters to the traveller,
> With soft and even pulse!"

To Wordsworth and Coleridge, the latter the greatest philosopher and highest poetical genius, the other the most philosophic poet of modern times, the age is indebted in obligations, which it is difficult adequately to measure or acknowledge. If to exert an almost magic power over minds of the noblest structure, and brightest promise; if to turn the hearts of the young with keen and animated gaze to the unveiled countenance of truth; if to waken and call forth their best energies of intellect; if to form them to habits of thought and meditation; if to rescue them from the baneful influence of that materialism, which has lain with a weight like death upon universal science; if to make them feel the difference between wisdom and knowledge, and prize the latter only as a step in the acquisition of the former; if to enkindle the imagination, and at the same time define its nature, enrich its wealth, and discipline its power; if to detect and reprove the usurpations of the understanding, and give freedom to faith as above the understanding; if to lead them to the contemplation of law in nature, and to the insight of principles in their own being, and to a reverential acknowledgment of the universal presence of the dread ground of all being;—if all this can constitute a claim to admiration and love, surely these venerable men may demand it.

Nor can any tell how far the exertion of their powers, the widely shining light of their intellect, may be the precursors of some great and beneficial change on earth. The full result of movements in the heavenly bodies, even upon our atmosphere, it takes ages to ascertain; and there are stars, whose light has been travelling ever since creation, and yet has not reached us. The thoughts left on record, and those awakened in other intellects, by these minds, will be felt through the dateless revolutions of eternity. How far the works of genius in any de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

partment, may be found hereafter to have filled their proper and necessary places in the advancement of the reign of righteousness on earth; what sphere an Allston, in the quiet, persevering pursuit of his noble art, may be found to have occupied in the spread of christianity, to the surprise of multitudes, in whose contracted view an hour of action for present utility has more to do with extending its spiritual kingdom than years of the meditations of genius, we cannot now determine. This we know, that sanctified genius, in all its departments, works and meditates for God. The truths of philosophy, as brought to view in the writings of Coleridge, are too nearly connected with those of theology, nay, they are too much the same with the realities of the word of God, not to exert a mighty influence in preparing the mind of the age for the reception of clearer, more scientific, and more spiritual views in religion; unalloyed, we hope, by any mixture of that grovelling scepticism, which refuses to receive, because it cannot understand, truths of all others in the universe of being the sublimest and most interesting. Let but "the fresh air blow through the soul's shut up mansion;" let the stifling influences of materialism be swept away, and an atmosphere congenial to spiritual truth, the universal, invigorating breath of unfallen nature, be breathed and lived in by man as a spiritual being, and it needs no prophet to foretell the glorious results.

"Creature all grandeur, son of truth and light,
Up from the dust! the last great day is bright,
Bright on the Holy Mountain, round the Throne,
Bright where in borrowed light the far stars shone.
Look down! the depths are bright! and hear them cry,
'Light! light!'—Look up! 'tis rushing down from high!
Regions on regions,—far away they shine;
'Tis light ineffable, 'tis light divine!—
'Immortal light, and life forevermore!'
Off through the deep is heard from shore to shore
Of rolling worlds!—Man, wake thee from the sod!
Awake from death, awake! and LIVE WITH GOD!"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART. III. — *The Mineral Springs of Nassau.*
Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau, by an Old Man.
London. 1834.

AN original, sprightly, readable book! A little volume full of curious observation on manners, shrewd remark, sound good feeling, fine touches of description, and strong sensible writing. A sly vein of humor runs through it, which, in these dull, ill-tempered, quarrelsome times, makes one's heart glad. There is an occasional dash of coarseness, — an approach of the waggish to the wicked, — which had better been away, particularly as the author is an "old Man." An old man, quotha! We would not hear his enemy say so. We trust there is many a cheerful, vigorous, and active year still destined to cast up its bright and cheerful bubbles, in his cup of life, before that part of the jest shall turn into sad reality. We are not disposed, however, to violate the confidence, which lies hidden, in the harmless little mystery of our Author's *nom de guerre*, — a secret, we suppose, not known to above three hundred thousand readers, on both sides of the Atlantic; and so, "old" he shall be, or any thing else he wishes, in reward for the cheerful and significant little volume, which has done more than any other we have laid hold of for some weeks, to make us young again. It would not be easy to pick out a chapter in it, that does not contain more sense, taste, and amusing matter, than can be found in one half the volumes, which the American press is daily borrowing from the English; and for this reason it is, we suppose, that it has not been reprinted.

The book contains the remarks and sketches of the Author, on a tour to the celebrated Mineral Waters in the duchy of Nassau, a place of vast resort for German invalids, fashionables, and grandees; but as yet barely found out by English tourists. No people in the world, perhaps, deem a summer's excursion to a watering-place so absolutely essential to life, — that is, to life physically, dietetically, fashionably, and politically considered, — as the Germans. It is said there are two hundred bathing-places, within the limits of the region covered by the broad name of Germany; from *Carlsbad*, where none but emperors, and princes, and favorites resort, — the bath of none but kings, — down to the poor little fountain of brackish

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

water, which in every petty principality oozes out of the lime-stone, and furnishes a pretence of stealing for a week or two, from the scene of their accustomed labors and cares, to the sickly student, the wasted village preacher, the broken-hearted country lassie, drooping under the *res angusta*, that sends her faithful swain to seek his fortune afar. The matrimonial matches, that engraft the great families of Europe on the safe stock of German neutrality, and raise the astonished heirs and heiresses of four miles square to imperial thrones, are settled at the baths. The first projects of holy alliances and counter-revolutions are formed at the *brunnen;* and here the endless activity of German literary life is annually freshened and exhilarated.

Our author has taken us to some of the most celebrated of those watering-places; but by something of a caprice has almost shut out the throng of men, and women, princes, merchants, *beaux esprits*, and fashionables that resort to them. Though he speaks in passing terms of the crowd and the resort, and describes some of the groups, you feel almost alone with him; as if he and you had gone there, just before the season began, or two weeks after it is over. This effect is produced by the originality of his observations, — the strong turn of his mind as a thinker, and a describer of natural scenes, — and the evident polite disdain which he feels for the sort of anecdote, — the wretched gossip, — which usually fills the pages of the modern tourist. — Still, however, there is an occasional paragraph, which sets the mingled throng of living and travelling and bath-hunting men and women, in the boldest and most amusing relief before you.

We pass over the voyage in the steam-boat to Rotterdam, and start with our author at once, on his passage in a steam-boat up the Rhine. After describing the adroitness, with which the stoppages of the boat were managed, for the purpose of receiving and landing passengers, he thus describes the appearance, on board, of a new married couple from London; — just started on a matrimonial tour:

"As hard as they could drive, they had posted to Dover, hurried across to Calais, — thence to Brussels, — snapped a glance at the ripe corn waving on the fields of Waterloo, — stared at the relics of that great *Saint*, old Charlemagne, on the high altar of Aix-la-Chapelle, and at last sought for rest and connubial refuge at Cöln;* but the celebrated water of that town, having, in its

* Cologne.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manufacture, extracted all perfume from the atmosphere, they could not endure the dirt and smell of the place, and therefore had proceeded by land toward Coblenz; but as they were changing horses, at a small village, seeing our steam-boat in view, they ordered a party of peasants to draw their carriage to the banks of the river, and as soon as our vessel came smoking alongside, they, their rosy fresh-colored French maid, their dark, chocolate-colored chariot, and their brown, ill-looking Italian courier, were all on board.

"As soon as this young London couple lightly stepped on deck, I saw at one glance, that, without at all priding themselves on their abilities, they fancied, and indeed justly fancied, that they belonged to that class of society, which in England so modestly calls itself,—*good.* That it was not healthy society,—that its victims were exposed to late hours, crowded rooms, and impure air, was evident enough from the contrast which existed between their complexions, and that of their healthy country attendant: however, they seemed to be not only perfectly satisfied with themselves and the *clique* which they had left behind them, but to have a distaste for every thing else, which they saw. Toward some German ladies, who had slightly bowed to them, they looked with a haughty vacant stare, as if they conceived there must be some mistake; and as if, at all events, it would be necessary to keep such people off. Yet, after all, there was no great harm in these two young people. That in the countries, they were about to visit, they would be fitted only for each other, was sadly evident; however, on the other hand it was also evidently not their wish to extend their acquaintance. Their heads were lanthorns, illuminated with no more brains than barely sufficient to light them on their way; so, like the babes in the wood, they sat together, hand-in-hand, regardless of every thing in creation, but themselves.

"For running their carriage down to the shore, the brown confidential courier, whose maxim was, of course, to pay little and charge much, offered the gang of peasants some kreuzers, which amounted, in English currency, to about sixpence. This they refused, and the captain of the party, while arguing with the flint-skinning courier, was actually carried off, by our steam-boat, which, like time and tide, waited for no man. The poor fellow, finding that the Italian was immovable, came aft to the elegant English couple, who were still leaning toward each other like the Siamese boys. He pleaded his case, stated his services, declared his poverty, and, in a manly voice, prayed for redress. The dandy listened,—looked at his boots, which were evidently pinching him,—listened,—passed four white fingers through the curls of his jet black hair,—showed the point of a pink tongue gently

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

playing with a front tooth, — and when the whole story was at an end, without moving a muscle in his countenance, in a sickly tone of voice, he pronounced his verdict as follows . . . . . *Alley!*

"The creditor tried again, but the debtor sat as silent and inanimate as a corpse. However, all this time the steam-boat dragging the poor peasant out of his way, he protested in a few angry exclamations, against the injustice with which he had been treated, (a sentiment I was very sorry to hear more than once mildly whispered, by many a quiet looking German,) and descending the vessel's side into a small boat, which had just brought us a new captive, he landed at a village, from which he had about eight miles to walk, to join his comrades.

"It is with no satirical feeling, that I have related this little occurrence. To hurt the feelings of "gay beings born to flutter but a day," — to break such a pair of young flimsy butterflies upon the wheel, affords me neither amusement nor delight; but the every day occurrence of English travellers committing our well-earned national character for justice and liberality, to the base slave-driving hand of a courier, is a practice which, as well as the bad taste of acting the part of a London dandy, on the great theatre of Europe, ought to be checked."

Our old gentleman, leaving the beautiful Moselle on his right, quits the steam-boat at Coblenz, and crossing to the opposite side of the river, takes up his quarters in a large hotel, standing immediately beneath the rock, whose precipitous summit is crowned by the celebrated towers of Ehrenbreitstein. From Coblenz he proceeds to Mainz, enters the duchy of Nassau, and passes through Ems, the first of the famous watering-places in the principality. Here, however he makes no stay, but pursues his course, ascending to the elevated table land of Nassau, till he arrives at Langenschwalbach, (long Swallow's stream), whose sulphur and chalybeate springs are among the finest in Germany. The former were known in the time of the Romans, the latter are a comparatively recent discovery. Having taken due counsel, as to the times of visiting the springs and the quantity of water to be drank from them, our author gives us, in a chapter headed *reveillé*, the result of his first experiment. As we have scarce any object but to present, for the amusement of our readers, some of the entertaining chapters of his book, we may as well make an extract of this: —

"At a quarter past five, I rose, and as soon after as possible, left the 'hof.' Every house was open, the streets already swept, the inhabitants all up, the living world appeared broad awake, and there was nothing to denote the earliness of the hour, but the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

delicious freshness of the cool mountain air; which as yet, unenfeebled by the sun, just beaming above the hill, was in that pure state, in which it had all night long been slumbering in the valley. The face of nature seemed beaming with health, and though there were no larks at Schwalbach, gently to 'carol at the morn,' yet immense red German slugs were everywhere in my path, looking wetter, colder, fatter, and heavier, than they or I have words to express. They had evidently been gorging themselves during the night, and were now crawling into shelter, to sleep away the day.

"As soon as, getting from beneath the shaded walk of the Allée Saal, I reached the green valley leading to the Pauline *brunnen*, it was quite delightful to look at the grass, as it sparkled in the sun,—every green blade being laden with dew, in such heavy particles, that there seemed to be quite as much water as grass. Indeed the crop was actually bending under the weight of nourishment, which, during the deep silence of night, nature had liberally imparted to it; and it was evident, that the sun would have to rise high in the heavens, before it could attain strength enough, to rob the turf of this fertilizing and delicious treasure.

"At this early hour, I found but few people on the walks, and, on reaching the *brunnen*, the first agreeable thing I received there, was a smile from a very honest, homely, healthy old woman, who having seen me approaching, had selected from her table my glass, the handle of which she had marked by a piece of tape.

"'Guten Morgen!' she muttered, without at all deranging the hospitality of her smile, and then, stooping down, she dashed the vessel into the *brunnen*, beneath her feet, and in a sort of civil hurry, (lest any of its spirit should escape,) she presented me with a glass of her *eau médicinale*. Clear as crystal, sparkling with carbonic acid gas, and effervescing quite as much as champagne, it was nevertheless miserably cold; and the first morning, what with the gas, and what with the low temperature of this cold iron water, it was about as much I could do to swallow it; and, for a few seconds, feeling as if it had sluiced my stomach completely by surprise, I stood hardly knowing what was about to happen; when, instead of my teeth chattering as I expected, I felt the water suddenly grow warm within my waistcoat, and a slight intoxication, or rather exhilaration, succeeded.

"As I have always had an unconquerable aversion to walking backwards and forwards, as on a formal parade, as soon as I had drank my first glass, I at once commenced ascending the hill, which rises immediately from the *brunnen*. Paths in zig-zags are cut in various directions through the woods, but so steep, that very few of the water-drinkers like to encounter them. I found the trees to be oak and beach, the ground beneath being covered

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with grass and heather, among which were growing wild, quantities of ripe strawberries and raspberries. The large red snails were in great abundance, and immense black beetles were also in the paths, heaving at and pushing upwards loads very much bigger than themselves. The grass and heather were soaked with dew, and even the strawberries looked much too wet to be eaten. However, I may observe that while drinking mineral waters, all fruit, wet or dry, is forbidden. Smothered up in the wood, there was of course nothing to be seen; but as soon as I had gained the summit of the hill, a very pretty hexagonal rustic hut, built of trees with the bark on, and thatched with heather, presented itself. The sides were open except two, which were built up with sticks and moss. A rough round table was in the middle, upon which two or three young people had cut their names, and round the inner circumference of the hut was a bench, on which I was glad enough to rest, while I enjoyed the extensive prospect.

"The features of this picture, so different from anything to be seen in England, are exceedingly large, and the round rolling clouds seemed bigger even than the distant mountains, upon which they rested. Not a fence was to be seen, but dark patches of wood, of various shapes and sizes, were apparently dropped down, upon the cultivated surface of the country, which, as far as the eye could reach, looked like the fairy park of some huge giant. In the fore-ground, however, small fields and little narrow strips of land, denoted the existence of a great number of poor proprietors; and even if Langenschwalbach had not been seen, crouching at the bottom of its deep valley, it would have been quite evident, that in the immediate neighborhood, there must be, somewhere or other, a town; for in many places the divisions of land were so small, that one could plainly distinguish provender growing, for the poor man's cow, — the little patch of rye, which was to become bread for his children, — and the half acre of potatoes, that was to help them through the winter. Close to the town, these divisions and sub-divisions were exceedingly small; but when every little family had been provided for, the fields grew larger; and at a short distance from where I sat, there were crops ripe and waving, which were evidently intended for a larger and more distant market.

"As soon as I had sufficiently enjoyed the freshness and the freedom of this interesting landscape, it was curious to look down from the hut upon the walk, which leads from the *Allée Saal* to the *brunnen*, or well of Pauline; for, by this time, all ranks of people had arisen from their beds, and the sun being now warm, the *beau monde* of Langenschwalbach was seen slowly loitering up and down the promenade.

"At the rate of about a mile and a half an hour, I observed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

several hundred quiet people, crawling through and fretting away that portion of their existence, which lay between one glass of cold iron-water and another. If an individual were to be sentenced to such a life, which in fact has all the fatigue without the pleasing sociability of the tread-mill, he would call it melancholy beyond endurance; yet there is no pill which fashion cannot gild, or which habit cannot sweeten. I remarked that the men were dressed generally in loose, ill-made, snuff-colored great coats, with awkward travelling caps of various shapes, instead of hats. The picture, therefore, taking it altogether, was a homely one; but although there were no particularly elegant, or fashionably looking people, although their gait was by no means attractive, yet, even from the lofty distant hut, I felt that it was impossible to help admiring the good sense and good feeling, with which all the elements of this German community appeared to be harmonizing with each other. There was no jostling or crowding; no apparent competition; no turning round to stare at strangers. There was 'no martial look nor lordly stride,' but real genuine good breeding seemed natural to all. It is true there was nothing which bore a very high aristocratic polish; yet it was equally evident, that the substance of their society was good enough not to require it.

"The behaviour of such a motley assemblage of people, who belonged of course to all ranks and conditions of life, in my humble opinion did them and their country very great credit. It was quite evident that every man on the promenade, whatever may have been his birth, was desirous of behaving like a gentleman; and that there was no one, however exalted might be his station, who wished to do any more.

"That young lady, rather more quietly dressed than the rest of her sex, is the Princess Leuenstein. Her countenance, (could it but be seen from the hut,) is as unassuming as her dress, and her manner as quiet as her bonnet. Her husband, who is one of the group of gentlemen behind her, is mild, gentleman-like, and, (if in these days such a title may without offence be given to a young man,) I would add, — he is modest. There are one or two other princes on the promenade, with a very fair sprinkling of dukes,* counts, and barons.

'There they go, altogether in a row,'

but though they congregate, — though like birds of a feather they flock together, — is there, I ask, any thing arrogant in their behavior? And the respect, which they meet with from every one,

* Our author's English notions have misled him. In Germany *duke* is a higher title than *prince*. The former is confined to some reigning princes in the German confederacy. The latter is a mere title of nobility.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does it not seem to be honestly their due? That uncommonly awkward short little couple, who walk, holding each other by the hand, and who *àpropos* to nothing, occasionally break playfully into a trot, are a Jew and Jewess lately married; and, as it is whispered, that they have some mysterious reason for drinking the waters, the uxorious anxiety, with which the little man presents the glass of cold comfort to his partner, does not pass completely unobserved. That slow gentleman, with such an immense body, who seems to be acquainted with the most select people on the walk, is an ambassador, who goes no where, — not even to mineral waters, — without his French cook, a circumstance quite enough to make every body speak well of him. A very honest, good-natured man he seems to be; but as he walks, can anything be more evident, than that his own cook is killing him; and what possible benefit can a few glasses of cold water do to a corporation, which Falstaff's belt would be too short to encircle?

"Often and often have I pitied Diogenes for having lived in a tub; but this poor ambassador is infinitely worse off, for the tub, it is too evident, lives *in him*, and carry it about with him he must, wherever he goes."

The greater part of the residue of this chapter is taken up in a discussion of the comparative modes, in which horses are harnessed for draught, in England, France, and Germany. In England the animal's head is drawn back or up by the check rein; in Germany it is drawn down to the lower edge of the collar; in France it is drawn neither up nor down, but is left to take its natural position. Our author gives the preference to the French practice, as affording the freest scope to the natural action of the animal. Next to this, he places the German mode, as confining the head indeed, but confining it, in that position, which the animal, in applying his strength for the purposes of draught, naturally assumes. The English method of reining up he decidedly condemns, as putting it wholly out of the power of the animal, to accomplish his task by weight and impulse, and compelling him to perform it, by the strain of muscle and sinew.

The next chapter describes the external use of the waters of Langenschwalbach, which we must give as a *pendant* to the foregoing picture:

"As soon as the patient was ready to enter his bath, the first feeling, which crossed his mind, as he stood shivering on the brink, was a disinclination to dip even the foot into a mixture, which looked about as thick as a horse-pond, and about the color

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Mullagitawney soup. However, having come as far as Langenschwalbach, there was nothing to say, but *en avant;* and so, descending the steps, I got into stuff, so deeply colored with the red oxide of iron, that the body, when a couple of inches below the surface, was invisible. The temperature of the water was neither hot nor cold; but I was no sooner immersed in it, than I felt it was of a strengthening, bracing nature; and I could almost have fancied myself lying with a set of hides in a tan-pit. The half hour, which every day I was sentenced to spend in this decoction, was by far the longest in the twenty-four hours; and I was always very glad, when my chronometer, which I hung on a nail before my eyes, pointed permission to extricate myself from the mess. While the body was floating, hardly knowing whether to sink or swim, I found it was very difficult for the mind to enjoy any sort of recreation, or to reflect for two minutes on any one subject; and as half shivering I lay, watching the minute-hand of the dial, it appeared the slowest traveller in existence.

"These baths are said to be very apt to produce head-ache, sleepiness, and other slightly apoplectic symptoms; but surely such effects proceed from the silly habit of not immersing the head. The frame of man has beneficently been made capable of existing under the line or near either of the poles of the earth. We know it can even live in an oven, in which meat is baking; but surely if it were possible to send one half of the body to Iceland, while the other was reclining on the banks of Fernando Po, the trial would be exceedingly severe, inasmuch as nature, never having contemplated such a vagary, has not thought it necessary to provide against it. In a less degree, the same argument applies to bathing, particularly in mineral waters; for even the common pressure of water on the portion of the body, which is immersed in it, tends mechanically to push or force the blood toward that part of it, (the head,) enjoying a rarer medium. But when it is taken into calculation, that the mineral mixture of Schwalbach acts on the body, not only mechanically, by pressure, but medicinally, being a very strong astringent, there needs no wizard to account for the unpleasant sensation so often complained of.

"For the above reason, I resolved that my head should share alike with the rest of my system; in short that it deserved to be strengthened as much as my limbs. The way in which I bathed, with the reasons which induced me to do so, were mentioned to Dr. Feuner. He made no objection, but in silence shrugged up his shoulders. However, the fact is, in this instance, as well as in many others, he is obliged to prescribe no more than human nature will comply with. And as Germans are not much in the habit of washing their heads, — and even if they were, as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they would certainly refuse to dip their skulls into a mixture, which stains the hair a deep red color, upon which common soap has not the slightest detergent effect, — the doctor probably feels, that he would only lose his influence, were he publicly to undergo the defeat of being driven from a system, which all men would agree to abominate. Although, of course, in coming out of the bath, the patient rubs himself dry and apparently clean, yet the rust, by exercise, comes out so profusely, that not only is the linen of those who bathe stained, but even their sheets are similarly discolored; the dandy's neckcloth becomes red; and when the head has been immersed, the pillow, in the morning, looks as if a rusty thirteen-inch shell had been reposing on it."

The succeeding chapters contain a description of a dinner at the ordinary, (in which, while the civility of the company is highly commended, the taste of the German *cuisine* is roughly handled), the promenade after dinner, the *Schwein general*, or swine-herd, a grotesque sketch of the manner, in which the swine of the village are driven out every morning to their woodland pasture, and home in the evening; the service of the Lutheran chapel; the opening of a new school-house; a deserted protestant church, a fine touching picture of a place of village worship, sinking under the weight of years; the Jewish synagogue; the harvest, and the practice of employing cows, in the small carts of the peasants, instead of other animals of draught; sunset, — a charming landscape, ending with the singular adventure of a young lady, who (whether in vision or reality appeareth not) alarmed at the belief, that there are rats in her bed, disturbs the quiet of midnight, with her outcries; a knight of Malta, a description of that island, a glance at its importance, and at the history of its acquisition, with an admirably told story of a wretched Turkish renegade, executed for a murder committed on a Maltese. — These chapters, miscellaneous and diversified as they are, in their contents, are all written with great spirit, and contain a world of entertaining and original remark; but we must hasten with our author to the neighboring waters of Schlangenbad or *Serpent's bath.*

The appropriateness of this name will appear from the following passage: —

"After following my attendant, through a labyrinth of passages, (one of which not only leaned sideways, but had an ascent like a hill,) she at last unlocked a door, which was no sooner opened, than I saw glide along the floor, close by me, a couple of small serpents! As the lady was talking very earnestly at the time, I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merely flinched aside, as they passed, without making any observation; but after I had crossed a small garden, she pointed to a door, which she said was that of the source, and while she stopped to speak to one of the servants, I advanced alone and opening the gate, saw beneath me a sort of *brunnen*, with three serpents, about the size of vipers, swimming about in it! Unable to contain my surprise, I made a signal to the lady, with my staff, and as she hurried towards me, I still pointed to the reptiles, as if to know why, in the name of Esculapius, they were allowed thus to contaminate the source of the baths?

"In the calmest manner possible, my conductress, (who seemed perfectly to comprehend my sensations,) replied *au contraire c'est ce qui donne la qualité à ces eaux.*

"The quantity of these reptiles, or Schlangen, that exist in the woods surrounding the spring, is very great; and they, of course, have given their name to the place. When full grown, they are about five feet long, and in hot weather are constantly seen gliding across the paths, or rustling under the dead leaves of the forest."

The following description of the quality of the Schlangenbad waters will go far, we think, to overcome the repugnance, which the foregoing account of the origin of their name, may have awakened in one class of our readers. We have heard their efficacy commended in language equally strong, by many persons, who have made trial of it.

"The baths at Schlangenbad are the most harmless and delicious luxuries of the sort I have ever enjoyed; and I really quite looked forward to the morning, for the pleasure, with which I paid my addresses to this delightful element. The effect it produces on the skin is very singular. It is about as warm as milk, but infinitely softer; and after dipping the hand into it, if the thumb be rubbed against the fingers, it is said by many to resemble satin. Nevertheless, whatever may be its sensation, when the reader reflects, that people not only come to these baths from Russia, but that the water in stone bottles, merely as a cosmetic, is sent to St. Petersburg and other distant parts of Europe, he will admit, that it must be soft indeed, to have gained for itself such an extraordinary degree of celebrity: for there is no town at Schlangenbad, not even a village. Nothing therefore but the real or fancied charm of the water could attract people into a little sequestered valley, which in every sense of the word is out of the sight of the civilized world. And yet I must say, I never remember to have existed in a place, which possessed such fascinating beauties. Besides which, (to say nothing of breathing pure dry air), it is no small pleasure to live in a skin, which puts all people in good humor, at least with themselves. But besides the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cosmetic charms of this water, it is declared to possess virtues of a more substantial character. It is said to tranquillize the nerves, to soothe all inflammation; and from this latter property, the cures of consumption which are reported to have been effected, among human beings and cattle, may have proceeded. Yet, whatever *good* effect the water may have upon this insidious disorder, its first operation most certainly must be, to neutralize the *bad* effect of the climate, which, to consumptive patients, must be a decidedly severe trial; for delightful as it is to people in robust health, yet the keenness of the mountain air, together with the sudden alternations of temperature, to which the valley of Schlangenbad is exposed, must, I think, be any thing but a remedy for weak lungs.

"The effect produced upon the skin, by lying about twenty minutes in the bath, I one day happened to overhear a short fat Frenchman describe to his friend, in the following words;— '*Monsieur, dans ces bains, on devient absolument amoureux de soi-même.*' I cannot exactly corroborate this gallic statement, yet I must admit, that limbs, even old ones, gradually do appear as if they were converted into white marble. The skin assumes a sort of glittering phosphoric brightness, resembling very much white objects, which, having been thrown overboard, in calm weather within the tropics, many of my readers have probably watched sinking in the ocean, which seems to blanch and illuminate them, as they descend. The effect is very extraordinary, and I know not how to account for it, unless it be produced by some prismatic refraction, caused by the peculiar particles, with which the fluid is impregnated."

The following pleasant sketch, will make the reader acquainted with some of the humors of a German watering-place. It seems, that, in the basement story of our author's abode, was an aged couple, whose business it was to prepare the baths and furnish towels to those who used them. The waters of Schlangenbad, notwithstanding their marvellous powers in smoothing and softening the skin, appear to have had the opposite effect, on the temper of this worthy couple, who seem to have furnished a specimen of what Mr. Bulwer happily describes as a cat and dog union. The "old woman," however, as our author unceremoniously calls her, invariably got the better of the argument. This, we believe, is all that is necessary, (by way of introduction), to the understanding of the following extract: —

"After I had had my bath, the old wife being out of the way,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I one day paid a visit of compliment to her husband, who had shown, by many little attempted attentions, that he was as anxious as his partner to serve me. With great delight, he showed me several bottles full of serpents; and then opening a wooden box, he took out, as a fisherman would handle eels, some very long ones, — one of which, (first looking over his shoulder to see that a certain personage was away,) he put upon a line, which she had stretched across the room, for drying clothes. In order, I suppose, to demonstrate to me that the reptile was harmless, he took it off the rope, along which it was moving very quickly; and without submitting his project for my approbation, he suddenly placed it on my breast, along which it crawled, until stretching its long neck, with half its body into the air, it held on in a most singular manner, by a single fold in the cloth, which by a sort of contortion of the vertebra, it firmly grasped.

"The old man, to appearance highly satisfied with this first act of his entertainment, gravely proceeded to show living serpents of all colors and sizes, — stuffed serpents and serpents' skins, — all of which seemed very proper hobbies, to amuse the long winter evenings of the aged servant of Schlangenbad, or the serpent's bath. At last, however, the fellow's dry, blanched, wrinkled face began to smile. Grinning, as he slowly mounted on a chair, he took from a high shelf, a broad-mouthed, white glass bottle, and then, in a sort of savage ecstacy, pronouncing the word '*Baromet!*' he placed it in my hand.

"The bottle was about half full of dirty water, — a few dead flies and crumbs of bread were at the bottom, — and near the top, there was a small piece of thin wood, which went about half across the phial. Upon this slender scaffolding, its fishy eyes staring upwards at a piece of coarse linen, which, being tied round the mouth of the bottle served as a cork, — the shrivelled skin of its under-jaw, moving at every sweltering breath which it took, — there sat a large, speckled, living toad!

"Like Sterne's captive, he had not, by his side, 'a bundle of sticks, notched with all the dismal days and nights he had passed there.' Yet their sum total was as clearly expressed in the unhealthy color of the poor creature's skin; and certainly in my life-time, I never before had seen what might truly be called — a sick toad.

"It was quite impossible to help pitying any living being, confined by itself in so miserable a dungeon. However, the old man's eyes were beaming with pride and delight, at what he conceived to be his own ingenuity, — and exclaiming '*Schönes wetter*,' (fine weather), he pointed to the wood-work on which the poor creature was sitting; — and then he exultingly explained, that, as soon as it should be going to rain, the toad would get

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down into the water. 'Baromét,' repeated the old fellow, grinning from ear to ear, as, mounting on the chair, he replaced his prisoner on the shelf."

Apropos to a peep into the village-school at Schlangenbad, our author treats us to a pretty long and very ingenious essay on classical education, condemning, in no very measured terms, the system pursued at the public schools of Great Britain, as being altogether ill-adapted to fit the future legislator, naval or military officer, or country gentleman, for the duties of life. He complains, in his own person, that, at the age of fourteen, he left his classical school, scarce knowing the name of a single river in the new world, and tired almost to death with the history of the Ilissus; whereas, in after life, he entered a river of America, more than five times as broad as from Dover to Calais, and repeatedly walked across the Ilissus in twenty seconds, without wetting his ancles. Our author seems also, in his school-boy days, to have been a good deal worried with the names of Actæon's hounds, and is still pursued with the recollection of

"Dromas, et Canace, Sticteque, et Tigris, et Alce."

We do not propose to say a word, in this out-of-the-way place, on the utility of classical literature, for the purposes of after-life. That is a theme far too important for an incidental discussion. But the great evil of English education is, (supposing the facts to be as our author represents them, of which we have not information, sufficiently accurate to enable us to judge,) that the attention of the learner, at the schools and the universities, is unnecessarily confined to classical studies. There is no necessity, because ancient geography is taught, that modern geography should be neglected. There is time enough to learn all about the Ilissus and all about the river Plate; and a young man may study Greek and Latin, and French and Italian, and geography and history, into the bargain. This simple truth is overlooked in most of the discussions, which we have seen of the expediency of pursuing the study of classical literature at school and college. It has been hastily assumed, that we are driven to the alternative of dactyles and spondees on the one hand, or history, and statistics, and other branches of what is commonly called useful science on the other. The consequence has been, that when sensible men have taken hold of the subject, (erring only in supposing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that such an alternative of necessity exists), they have satisfactorily demonstrated either side of the question. There is no difficulty in proving, that classical literature is an indispensable part of a thorough education; and quite as little in proving the same of the most important modern languages and of the leading branches of natural and exact science. What then is to be done? — Teach them all; which, with the multiplication and improvement of aids, can be done in less time and with greater ease, than may be thought. The years usually spent at school are amply sufficient for the purpose; and nothing is wanted but the ability to teach on the one side, and the aptitude to learn on the other. We repeat again, we by no means undertake to say, that the English schools are what our author describes them, confined to a meagre classical routine. But if they are, they are vastly in arrears of the schools in Germany, and much behind many in our own country; in which, while the learned languages are well taught, the other branches of useful knowledge receive their share of attention.

But it is time to pass, with our author, from Schlangenbad to Nieder-selters, the springs from which, what is commonly called Selzer-water is drawn, and exported to every part of the civilized globe. It is situated at the distance of about eighteen miles from Langenschwalbach, and is described in the following terms.

"The features of the country now began to grow larger than ever; and though crops, green and brown, were, as far as the eye could reach, gently waving round me, yet the want of habitations, plantations, and fences, gave to the extensive prospect an air of desolation. The picture was perhaps grand, but it wanted foreground. However, this deficiency was soon most delightfully supplied, by the identical object I was in search of, — viz. the *brunnen* and establishment of Nieder-selters, which suddenly appeared on the road-side, close before me, scarcely a quarter of a mile from its village.

"The moment I entered the great gate of the enclosure, which, surrounded by a high stone wall, occupies about eight acres of ground, so strange a scene presented itself suddenly to my view, that my first impression was, I had discovered a new world inhabited by brown stone bottles; for in all directions were they to be seen, rapidly moving from one part of the establishment to another, — standing actually in armies on the ground, or piled in immense layers or strata, one above another. Such a profusion and such a confusion of bottles, it had never entered into human imagination to conceive; and before I could bring my eyes to stoop

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to detail, with uplifted hands, I stood for several seconds in utter amazement.

"On approaching a large circular shed, covered with a slated roof, supported by posts but open on all sides, I found the single *brunnen* or well, from which this highly celebrated water is forwarded to almost every quarter of the globe, — to India, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, Paris, London, and to almost every city in Germany. The hole, which was about five feet square, was bounded by a frame-work of four strong beams mortised together; and the bottom of the shed being boarded, it very much resembled, both in shape and dimensions, one of the hatches in the deck of a ship. A small crane with three arms, to each of which there was suspended a square iron crate or basket, a little smaller than the *brunnen*, stood about ten feet off; and while peasant girls, with a stone bottle (holding three pints) dangling on every finger of each hand, were rapidly filling two of these crates, which contained seventy bottles, a man turned the third by a winch, until it hung immediately over the *brunnen*, into which it then rapidly descended. The air in these seventy bottles being immediately displaced by the water, a great bubbling of course ensued; but, in about twenty seconds, this having subsided, the crate was raised; and while seventy more bottles descended from another arm of the crane, a fresh set of girls curiously carried off these full bottles, one on each finger of each hand, ranging them in several long rows upon a large table or dresser, — also beneath the shed. No sooner were they there, than two men, with surprising activity, put a cork into each; while two drummers, with a long stick, in each of their hands, hammering them down, appeared as if they were playing upon musical glasses.

"Another set of young women now instantly carried them off, four and five in each hand, to men, who, with sharp knives, sliced off the projecting part of the cork; and this operation being over, the poor jaded bottles were delivered over to women, each of whom actually covered three thousand of them in a day with white leather, which they firmly bound with packthread round the corks; and then, without placing the bottles on the ground, they delivered them over to a man seated beside them, who, without any apology, dipped each of their noses into boiling hot rosin; and before they had recovered from this operation, the Duke of Nassau's seal was stamped upon them, by another man; when off they were hurried fifteen and twenty at a time, by girls, to magazines where they peacefully remained ready for exportation.

"Having followed a set of bottles from the *brunnen* to the store, where I left them resting from their labors, I strolled to another

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

part of the establishment, where were empty bottles, calmly waiting for their turn to be filled. I here counted twenty-five bins of bottles, each four yards broad, six yards deep, and eight feet high. A number of young girls were carrying thirty-four of them, at a time, on their heads to an immense trough, which was kept constantly full, by a large fountain pipe, of beautifully clear fresh water. The bottles on arriving here were filled brim full, (as I conceived for the purpose of being washed,) and were then ranged in ranks or rather solid columns of seven hundred each, there being ten rows of seventy bottles.

"It being now seven o'clock, a bell rung as a signal for giving over work, and the whole process came suddenly to an end; for a few seconds the busy laborers, (as in a disturbed ant-heap,) were seen irregularly hurrying in all directions; but in a very short time all had vanished. For a few minutes, I ruminated in solitude, about the premises, and then set out to take up my abode for the night, at the village, or rather, town of Nieder-selters. However, I had no sooner, as I vainly thought, bid adieu to bottles, than I saw, like Birnam wood coming to Dunsinane, bottles approaching me, in every possible variety of attitude.

"It appears that all the inhabitants of Nieder-selters are in the habit of drinking in their houses this refreshing water; but as the *brunnen* is in requisition by the duke, all day long, it is only before or after work, that a private supply can be obtained. No sooner therefore does the evening bell ring, than every child in the village is driven out of its house, to take empty bottles to the *brunnen;* and it was this singular looking legion, which was now approaching me. The children really looked as if they were made of bottles. Some wore a pyramid of them in baskets on their heads. Some were laden with them hanging over their shoulders, before and behind. Some carried them strapped round their middles; all had their hands full; and little urchins, that could scarcely walk, were advancing, each hugging in its hands one single bottle. In fact, at Neider-selters an 'infant' means a being totally unable to carry a bottle; — a strong man brags of the number he can carry; — and superannuation means being no longer able, in this world, — to bear bottles."

The next day being a festival, the host of water-bearers had ceased labor at nine o'clock, and gone to the church. Our author embraced this opportunity of examining the establishment, at his leisure. On going toward the rows of bottles last described, as being filled with pure water, and as he supposed to wash them, he found about one third of them, with their noses broken off. This is done by an officer of the duke entrusted with that duty, who goes the rounds, with a hammer, knocking off the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

head of every bottle, appearing to be porous or leaky. From a return furnished to our author, by the officer at the head of the establishment for bottling up and exporting this water, it appears that in the year 1832, one million, thirty-three thousand, six hundred and sixty-two large bottles were exported, and about a fourth part as many small ones. By the time a bottle is sealed, it has undergone fifteen operations, all performed by different people. The Duke of Nassau, furnishing his own bottles, pays $17\frac{1}{2}$ kreuzers, (equal to about as many cents,) for every hundred, large or small, filled and placed in his magazines. The peasants either share the labor and profits among themselves; or sometimes all the operations on a certain number of bottles will be performed, by the members of one family. So much activity, however, is required in constantly stooping and carrying off the bottles, that this portion of the work is principally performed by young women of eighteen or nineteen, assembled from all the neighboring villages; and who, by working from three o'clock in the morning till seven at night, can gain a florin a day, or thirty florins a month, Sunday, except during the time of service, not being a day of rest. Thirty florins, we believe, of the duchy of Nassau, may be about equal to twelve dollars. For the bottles themselves, the duke pays four and a half florins a hundred for the large ones, and three florins a hundred for the small ones. The large bottles, when full, are sold by him at the spring, for thirteen florins a hundred. His income, in the year 1833, is calculated by our author, to have been fifty thousand florins, from the sale of this water. The duke's ancestor originally gave a butt of wine for the *brunnen!*

We must pass over the visit to the monastery of Eberbach, the journey performed upon an ass to Mainz, and the romantic legend of the great plane tree of Frauenstein. But from the excursion to the Niederwald, we must make room for the following pretty scene.

"On arriving at Rudesheim, I most joyfully extricated myself from the carriage, and instantly hiring a guide and a mule, I contentedly told the former to drive me before him, to the point in his neighborhood, which was generally considered as best worth seeing; and perfectly unconscious where he would propel me, the man began to beat the mule, — the mule began to trot along, — and, little black memorandum-book in hand, I began to make my notes.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"After ascending a very narrow path, which passed through the vineyards, the sun, as I became exposed to it, feeling hotter and hotter, I entered a wild, low, stunted plantation of oak shrubs, which was soon exchanged for a noble wood of oak and beech trees, between which I had room enough to ride in any direction.

"The shade was exceedingly agreeable. The view, however, was totally concealed, until I suddenly came to a projecting point, on which there was a small temple, commanding a most splendid prospect.

"After resting here a few minutes, the mule and his burden again entered the forest; and continuing to ascend to a considerable height, we both at last approached a large stone building like a barrack, part of which was in ruins; and no sooner had we reached its southern extremity, when my guide, with a look of vast importance, arrested the progress of the beast. As I beheld nothing at all, worth the jolting I had had in the carriage, I felt most grievously disappointed; and though I had no one's bad taste to accuse but my own, in having committed myself to the barbarous biped, who stood before me, yet I felt, if possible, still more out of sorts, on the fellow's desiring me to halloo as loud as I could, he informing me, with a look of indescribable self-satisfaction, that as soon as I should do so, an echo would repeat all my exclamations three times!

"The man seeing that I did not at all enjoy his noisy miracle, made a sign to me to follow him, and he accordingly led me to what appeared to my eyes to be nothing but a large heap of stones, held together by brambles. At one side, however, of this confused mass, there appeared to be a hole, which looked very much as if it had been intended as an ice-house. However, on entering it, I found it to be a long, dark, subterranean passage, cut out of the solid rock; and here, groping my way, I followed my guide, until coming to a wooden partition or door, he opened it, when, to my great astonishment and delight, I found myself in an octagonal chamber, most deservedly called *die bezauberte Höhle*, the enchanted cave!

"It was a cavern or cavity in a rock, with three fissures or embrasures, radiating at a small angle; yet each looking down upon the Rhine, which, pent within its narrow rocky channel, was, at a great depth, struggling immediately beneath us. The sudden burst into day-light, and the brightness of the gay, sunshiny scenes which, through the three rude windows had come so suddenly to view, (for I really did not know, that I was on the brink of the precipice of the Rhine,) was exceedingly enchanting; and I was most fully enjoying it, as well as the reflection, that there was no one to interrupt me, when I suddenly fancied that I certainly heard, somewhere or other, within the bowels of the living rock,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in which I was embedded, a faint sound like the melody of female voices, which, in marked measure, seemed to swell stronger and stronger, until I decidedly and plainly heard them, in full chorus, chanting a well known national air. From time to time the earthly or unearthly sounds died away, — lost in the intricate turns of the subterraneous passage; — at last they were heard, as if craving permission to enter, and my guide running to the wooden door, no sooner threw it wide open, than, the music at once rushing in like a flood, filled the vaulted chamber, in which I stood, and in a few seconds, to my very great surprise, there marched in, two by two, a youthful bridal party! The heads of eight or ten young girls, (following a bride and bridegroom) were ornamented with wreaths of bright green leaves, which formed a pleasing contrast with their brown hair of various shades, and, most particularly, with the raven black-tresses of the bride, which were plaited round her pleasing modest-looking face very gracefully.

"The whole party, (the bridegroom, the only representative of his sex, of course, included,) had left Mainz, that morning to spend a happy day in the magic cave; and certainly their unexpected appearance gave a fairy enchantment to the scene."

After an admirable description of the various landscape to be seen from this beautiful position our author proceeds,

"Having at last mounted my mule, I attempted to bid my companions farewell; — however, they insisted on accompanying me and my guide through the forest, singing their national airs in chorus as they went. Their footsteps kept pace with their tunes, and as they advanced thrilled among the trees, with great effect. Sometimes the wild melody, like a stop-waltz, suddenly ceased, and they proceeded several paces in silence; and then again it as unexpectedly burst upon the ear. In short, like the children of all German schools, they had evidently been taught time and the complete management of their voices, a natural and pleasing accompaniment, which can scarcely be sufficiently admired."

Our author did not attempt to draw their history from the young people themselves; but he learned from his guide, as a kind of mystery, that the couple who led the gay procession were not married, but *verlobt* (betrothed,) or, as he rather ungallantly expresses it, "under sentence eventually to be married."

"This quiet, jog-trot, half and half connubial arrangement," says he, "is very common indeed all over Germany; and no sooner is it settled and approved of, than the young people are permitted to associate together at almost all times, notwithstanding it is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often decreed to be prudent, that many years should elapse, before their marriage can possibly take place. In short, they are constantly obliged to wait until either their income rises sufficiently, or until butter, meat, bread, coffee, and tobacco sufficiently fall.

"As seated on my mule, I followed these steady, well-behaved, and apparently well-educated young people, through the forest, listening to their cheerful choruses, I could not, during one short interval of silence, help reflecting, how differently such unions are managed in different parts of the globe.

"A quarter of a century has nearly elapsed, since I chanced to be crossing from the island of Salamis to Athens, with a young Athenian of rank, who was also in his way "affianced." We spent, I remember, the night together, in an open boat, and certainly never did I, before or since, witness the aching of a lad's heart, produce effects so absolutely resembling the aching of his stomach. My friend lay at the bottom of the *trabacolo*, absolutely groaning with love. His moans were piteous beyond description, and nothing seemed to afford his affliction any relief, but the following stanza, which, over and over again, he continued most romantically singing to the moon :—

'Quando la notte viene,
Non ho riposo, O Nice,
Son misero e infelice,
Esser lontan da te!'

On his arrival at Athens, he earnestly entreated me to call for him, on the object of his affections, for he himself, by the custom of his country, was not allowed to see her, exactly from the same reason which permitted the young German couple, to stroll together, through the lonely, lovely forest of the Niederwald, namely — because they were '*verlobt.*'"

At length our author takes his final adieu of Schlangenbad and repairs to Wiesbaden, the last of the *brunnens* described by him, — and of a character still different from all the preceding. Witness the following sketch :—

"In strolling very slowly about the town after dinner, the first object which aroused my curiosity was a stream I observed rising through the iron gratings, which, at the corners of the streets, covered the main drains or common sewers of the town. At first, I thought it proceeded from washer-women, pig-scalders, or some such artificial cause; but I no sooner reached the great *koch-brunnen*, (boiling spring,) than I learned it was the natural temperature of the Wiesbaden waters, that had thus attracted my attention.

"As I stood before this immense cauldron, with eyes staring at the volume of steam, which was arising from it, and with ears

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

listening to a person, that was voluntarily explaining to me, that there were fifteen other springs in the town, their temperature being at all times of the year about 140° of Fahrenheit, I could not help feeling a sort of unpleasant sensation, similar to what I had experienced, on the edges of Etna and Vesuvius. In short, I had been so little accustomed to live in a town heated by subterranean fire, that it just crossed my mind, whether, in case the engineer below, from laziness, should put on too many coals at once, or from carelessness, should neglect to keep open his proper valves, an explosion might not take place, which would suddenly send me, Koch-brunnen, Wiesbaden & Co. on a shooting excursion to the Duke's lofty hunting seat, the Platte.

"In describing the taste of the mineral water at Wiesbaden, were I to say that, while drinking it, one hears, in one's ears, the cackling of hens, and that one sees feathers flying before one's eyes, I should certainly grossly exaggerate; but when I declare, that it exactly resembles very hot chicken broth, I only say, what Dr. Granville said, and what in fact every body says and must say, respecting it; and certainly I do wonder why the common people should be at the inconvenience of making bad soup, when they can get much better from nature's great stock-pot, — the *Koch-brunnen* of Wiesbaden. At all periods of the year, summer or winter, the temperature of this broth remains the same, and when one reflects that it has been bubbling out of the ground, and boiling over, in the very same state, certainly from the time of the Romans and probably from the time of the flood, it is really astonishing to think what an apparatus there must exist below, — what an inexhaustible stock of provisions, to ensure such an everlasting supply of broth, always formed of exactly the same eight or ten ingredients, — always salted to exactly the same degree, — and always served up at exactly the same heat.

"One would think that some of the particles in the recipe would be exhausted; in short, to speak metaphorically, that the chickens would at last be boiled to rags, or that the fire would go out for want of coals. But the oftener one reflects on subjects of this sort, the oftener is the old fashioned observation repeated, that let a man go where he will, OMNIPOTENCE is never from his view!"

With this passage we close our extracts. Our author is brought in it to a just reflection, toward which his better feelings have evidently been struggling, during the whole of the description of the extraordinary waters at Wiesbaden. The levity with which he at first takes up the topic, is offensive; the culinary associations to which he seems to cling, are mean and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unworthy. Could we have done so, we would gladly have separated them from the description of the truly wonderful phenomenon of these boiling waters. But the true and appropriate conception flashes at last upon his mind, and he beholds in it, — as who is there that does not, — a visible display of the mysteries of Omnipotence. It has been as beautifully as truly said, that the "undevout astronomer is mad." The same remark might with equal force and justice be applied to the undevout geologist. Of all the absurdities ever started, none more extravagant can be named, than that the grand and far-reaching researches and discoveries of geology are hostile to the spirit of religion. They seem to us, on the very contrary, to lead the inquirer, step by step, into the more immediate presence of that tremendous POWER, which could alone produce and can alone account for the primitive convulsions of the globe, of which the proofs are graven in eternal characters, on the sides of its bare and cloud-piercing mountains, or are wrought into the very substance of the strata that compose its surface, and which are also, day by day, and hour by hour, at work, to feed the fires of the volcano, to pour forth its molten tides, or to compound the salubrious elements of the mineral fountains, which spring in a thousand valleys. In gazing at the starry heavens, all glorious as they are, we sink under the awe of their magnitude, the mystery of their secret and reciprocal influences, the bewildering conception of their distances. Sense and science are at war. The sparkling gem, that glitters on the brow of night, is converted by science into a mighty orb, — the source of light and heat, the centre of attraction, the sun of a system like our own. The beautiful planet, which lingers in the western sky, when the sun has gone down, or heralds the approach of morning, — whose mild and lovely beams seem to shed a spirit of tranquillity, not unmixed with sadness nor far removed from devotion, into the very heart of him who wanders forth in solitude to behold it, — is, in the contemplation of science, a cloud-wrapt sphere; a world of rugged mountains and stormy deeps. We study, we reason, we calculate. We climb the giddy scaffold of induction up to the very stars. We borrow the wings of the boldest analysis and flee to the uttermost parts of creation, and then, shutting our eyes on the radiant points that twinkle in the vault of night, the well-instructed mind sees opening before it, in mental vision, the STUPENDOUS MECHANISM OF THE HEAVENS. Its

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

planets swell into worlds. Its crowded stars recede, expand, become central suns, and we hear the rush of the mighty orbs that circle round them. The bands of Orion are loosened, and the sparkling rays, which cross each other on his belt, are resolved into floods of light, streaming from system to system, across the illimitable pathways of the outer heavens. The conclusions, which we reach, are oppressively grand and sublime; the imagination sinks under them; the truth is too vast, too remote from the premises, from which it is deduced; and man, poor frail man, sinks back to earth, and sighs to worship again, with the innocence of a child or a Chaldean shepherd, the quiet and beautiful stars, as he sees them in the simplicity of sense. But in the province of geology, there are some subjects, in which the senses seem, as it were, led up into the laboratory of divine power. Let a man fix his eyes upon one of the marble columns in the capitol at Washington. He sees there a condition of the earth's surface, when the pebbles of every size, and form, and material, which compose this singular species of stone, were held suspended in the medium, in which they are now imbedded, then a liquid sea of marble, which has hardened into the solid, lustrous, and variegated mass before his eye, in the very substance of which he beholds the record of a convulsion of the globe. Let him go and stand upon the sides of the crater of Vesuvius, in the ordinary state of its eruptions, and contemplate the lazy stream of molten rocks, that oozes out quietly at his feet, encasing the surface of the mountain as it cools with a most black and stygian crust, or lighting up its sides at night with streaks of lurid fire. Let him consider the volcanic island, which arose a few years since, in the neighborhood of Malta, spouting flames, from the depths of the sea; — or accompany one of our own navigators from Nantucket to the Antartic ocean, who, finding the centre of a small island, to which he was in the habit of resorting, sunk in the interval of two of his voyages, sailed through an opening in its sides where the ocean had found its way, and moored his ship* in the smouldering crater of a recently extinguished volcano. Or, finally, let him survey the striking phenomenon, which our author has described, and which has led us to this train of remark, a mineral fountain of salubrious qualities, of a temperature greatly above that of the surface of the earth

* J. N. Reynolds's Report to the Secretary of the Navy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the region where it is found, compounded of numerous ingredients in a constant proportion, and known to have been flowing from its secret springs, as at the present day, at least for eighteen hundred years, unchanged, unexhausted. The religious sense of the elder world, in an early stage of civilization, placed a genius or a divinity by the side of every spring that gushed from the rocks, or flowed from the bosom of the earth. Surely it would be no weakness, for a thoughtful man, who should resort, for the renovation of a wasted frame, to one of these salubrious mineral fountains, if he drank in their healing waters as a gift from the outstretched, though invisible hand, of an *everywhere present and benignant* POWER.

ART. IV. — *Life of G. D. Boardman.*
Memoir of George Dana Boardman, late Missionary to Burmah. Boston. 1834.

THE literature of Christain Missions already forms one of the most interesting and extensive chapters in the general literary history of our times. Not many years have elapsed, since the spirit of protestant missions came into being; — and already that spirit has kindled the altars of true religion in almost every nation upon earth, and engaged in its operations hundreds of pious, heroic and gifted individuals, of whose travels and toil, of whose noble schemes and glorious achievements, and martyr-like endurance of every conceivable form of danger and pain, — of whose godly lives and happy deaths, the records form an extensive library; — a library unsurpassed, if not unequalled, in thrilling incident, in memorable record, in magnanimity of purpose, in valuable lessons, in praiseworthy actions.

What a collection do we possess of missionary voyages and travels; — travels that track the map of our earth from the icebergs of Greenland, to the torrid deserts of Africa; — from the mountain-holds of our own aborigines, to the borders of China and Siam.

But, above all, what a host of biographies of holy men, and devout and heroic women, — who have labored and suffered

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and perished, in extending the limits of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and who have left behind them that example, which the good in all coming ages shall love to admire and imitate, and that memory which is, in the language of Scripture, "blessed." Could these biographies be collected and published in a series, what an amount of the most valuable and spirit-stirring matter would thus be presented to the public! We hope that something like this may be done, so that succeeding times may not lose the influence arising from a familiarity with such works.

That this influence is very great, no one can doubt, who has himself read these biographies, or has had an opportunity of witnessing the effect produced upon others, by their perusal. The writer of this article well remembers the warm flood of feeling which bathed his youthful heart, in reading the Memoirs of Henry Martyn. Almost every missionary memoir refers the origin, or the full development, of the missionary spirit in its hero, to the reading of some other similar work. The pages of Boardman's biography are crowded with allusions to the spirit-stirring effect produced upon Boardman by the Memoirs of Brainard, and Mills, and Martyn, and Chamberlain, and others, their fellows in the heavenly work of evangelizing man.

It is impossible to peruse the written life of any man or woman, who has manifested great intellectual or great moral power, whether in a holy cause, or an unholy one, without a strong admiration and a deep sympathy, and a powerful impulse toward imitation. The soul is awakened, the active powers are roused, the contemplation of high achievement kindles emulation, and we are drawn towards the object of our admiration, like floating atoms on the stream towards the rush of the cataract. It would be well were the character of those leading minds, which thus draw after them the mass of mankind, always virtuous and noble. But, in the vast majority of instances, the leaders of mankind are individuals whose principles and motives the Christian must condemn, as hostile to the spirit of the gospel. More precious therefore, is the example of that pious few, who have devoted themselves "with pure hearts fervently," to the glory of God, and the good of man, and whose energy of purpose, and firmness of principle, and magnanimity in despising difficulty and danger and suffering and death, in the accomplishment of a noble end, rouse into active admiration all who contemplate their glorious career.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We hail with sincere pleasure the appearance of the biography of every such person, as the creation of one further instrument of advancing the Redeemer's kingdom among men. The life of the late Rev. George D. Boardman, is, on this account, welcomed from the press; and after having read its pages, we turn with ardent zeal to the duty of making its character and contents known to the literary community.

Boardman has but recently died: — He died young, in the midst of a most promising career in India, — He was an American; — a man of fine learning and talents; of rare moral qualities, and most zealous in the missionary enterprise. He is, therefore, entitled to our respectful consideration. The story of his life and labors will be found full of interest and instruction. Our readers will therefore follow us, we believe, with pleasure and profit through a sketch of his short but efficient career.

He was the son of a Baptist clergyman, who still lives, and was born in Livermore, Maine, February 8th, 1801. He was a feeble and studious boy, ardently devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, sometimes concealing his bodily illness in order to get to school, and always securing the esteem of his teachers, by his proficiency. At the age of twelve he had resolved on procuring that grand desideratum of New England youth, a liberal education, and apprehending, as well he might, that the narrow salary of his father would not be sufficient to pay the necessary expenses of such an education, he informed his mother that as soon as he came of age this should be his first object. His parents encouraged this noble spirit, and sent him to a preparatory academy in North-Yarmouth. While at that academy, an incident occurred, which illustrates both his uncommon ardor in the pursuit of learning, and his fine mental powers. He was put upon the study of the Latin grammar; through which he passed with a rapidity before unknown to his teacher. Having thus quickly conquered the grammar, he hoped to be immediately admitted to the use of his Lexicon. But he was told that he must first go over the grammar once or twice more. Disappointed, he returned to his seat. In an hour or two he was called up to recite, and repeated *verbatim et literatim*, sixteen pages of the grammar. His preceptor inquired if he had got more; he answered "yes," and on being asked "how much," replied, "I can recite the *whole book*, sir, if you wish!" Subsequently he manifested

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an equal power in the study of mathematical science. At the age of sixteen, he became a teacher in a village school, and displayed extraordinary power as an instructer; reducing, as it seemed, almost without an effort, the most unruly and turbulent schools to perfect order and harmony. His acquaintance with human nature, and with the elements of control, at this early age, gave him almost creative power; — so that from the chaos of the most unmanageable schools he called forth a beautiful system and regularity. His countenance, by its power of expression, which was benignity tempered by severity, did much to control his pupils; and he used to say that he considered a pupil as almost hopeless, whom he could not *look* into good behaviour.

In May, 1819, at the age of eighteen years, he became a member of the collegiate institution, in the town of Waterville, Maine. While young Boardman was a member of this institution, early in 1820, it was, by a charter from the Legislature of Maine, constituted a college; at which time he was found, on examination, qualified for admission as a junior, or third year pupil. He is described, by the late president of that college, as being at this time a youth of sober habits, and of superior intellectual powers, but showing no strongly marked features of piety. He seemed to possess an unusual share of what Dr. Paley calls "the heroic character." He was quick in his sensibilities, jealous of his fame, eager in his attachments, inflexible in his purpose. He was remarkable, too, for vigor, firmness and resolution, and for a kind of haughty independence which made him unwilling to be indebted to others for his opinion upon any subject.

During his collegiate course he became a pious man. We can readily imagine that the operation of religion upon a mind so constituted, would produce no ordinary result. The great elements of the natural man, when brought under the control of spiritual influence, the most powerful of all agencies by which the human mind is ever affected, would lose none of their efficiency; — while they would become consecrated to holy purposes. "His independence of mind," says Dr. Chaplin, "continued; but the haughtiness connected with it, disappeared:" and so great were the promises of future eminence, in both learning and piety, apparent in his progress, that the good president, and other friends of Waterville, anticipated the time when the young scholar should preside over the college.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These anticipations, as to the department of his future labor, were destined to be disappointed; — and, as the circumstances attending Boardman's religious conversion, and his determination respecting his mode of life and action, are peculiarly interesting, we will briefly narrate them.

The parents of Boardman were both pious; and both, of course, labored to educate their son in the fear of the Lord. But, although a moral, a studious, and reflective boy, he never became thoroughly religious, until after his admission to Waterville. In that institution his thoughts were directed by a variety of circumstances, to a consideration of the vast and important topics of evangelical religion. His room-mate was a very pious, and most warm-hearted man. His class-mates all felt deeply interested in George's moral state. The officers of the college, likewise, did all in their power to elevate his thoughts and affections. In short, every external influence, by which a young man could be surrounded, was calculated to lead his mind heavenward. Under the operation of these causes, he was, by the Spirit of God, induced to consecrate himself, body, soul and spirit to religion, and in July, 1820, he made a public profession of his belief, and was baptized.

From this time forward he engaged with characteristic activity in every mode of religious operation, and his letters and journals of this and subsequent dates, exhibit the most elevated and glowing emotions. He seemed to move in a world of bright light, and of a pure glory; — to anticipate something of that bliss which inspired the Peri, when she exclaimed —

> "Go, wing your flight from star to star,
> From world to luminous world, as far
> As the universe spreads its flaming wall,
> Go, count the pleasures of all the spheres
> And multiply each through endless years, —
> One moment of heaven exceeds them all!"

A mere psychologist, acquainted with the powers and capabilities of such a mind, and beholding the ardor of the religious zeal which animated it, would have watched with intense interest the result of his actions. But a real philanthropist would find, in such a soul, a study of far deeper and more engrossing anxiety; — for he would know that its movements were destined to exercise a power of tremendous energy over the condition of mankind.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have Boardman's own authority for saying, that soon after his conversion, his thoughts and feelings were turned towards Missionary subjects. "In the winter of 1820," he says, "the thought occurred to me that I could take my Bible and travel through new settlements, where the gospel was seldom, if ever, heard, and *without sustaining the name of a preacher*, could visit from hut to hut, and tell the story of Jesus's dying love. Then, in imagination, I could welcome fatigue, hunger, cold, nakedness, solitude, sickness and death, if I might only win a few cottages to my beloved Saviour."

Not long after this he began to meditate upon the condition of the Western Indians, and modestly considering himself unfit to preach among civilized Christians, he rejoiced at the thought of laboring, and at last finding a grave, in the forest.

In 1822 his mind was directed, by the death of Rev. Mr. Colman, to the Mission in Burmah; and his soul was stirred within him by the reflection, that millions and millions were every year perishing in that devoted land without the slightest knowledge of the gospel. It is consoling to those who mourn for the dead who die in the midst of their labors, to know that the event for which they grieve does often, as in this event of Colman's death, prove the actual cause of future additions to the missionary band. Colman sailed from Boston for India in November, 1817, and was actively engaged as a missionary in Aracan, when death suddenly cut him down, in 1822. The voice from his grave crossed the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic, and fell upon the ear of one pious student in the heart of the forests of Maine,—and that student responded to its call, and resolved in his soul that, God helping him, he would do something for destitute India.

In February, 1823, the thoughts of Mr. Boardman were for a while most deeply interested in the condition of the Jews,—God's ancient people, who remain to this day a sad but wonderful illustration of prophetic truth. "My mind," says he, in a letter to his parents, "has been much occupied about the Jews, as it appears from several parts of the prophetic scriptures, that they are to be eminently active and useful in spreading the Gospel among the nations. I have sometimes thought of becoming a missionary to them. I feel comparatively but little anxiety to what part of the world I am sent, if God calls me there. It is of but little consequence where I live, or where I die. Life is so short, when protracted to the longest, that the difference is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comparatively small, whether we live at ease, or are compelled to toil in poverty, and live without a settled habitation."

His social nature was full of warm affections and tender sentiments. His love of friends and home was an intense passion; but even his dearest friends could be resolutely abandoned, his strongest passion controlled, for the sake of accomplishing his grand design. He remembered, and felt, and acted upon the Saviour's words, — "he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." In the letter just above quoted, he remarks, that his *choice*, (meaning, probably, that preference which looks aside from duty,) would be "to live in the embraces" of his friends, especially of parents, and brothers and sisters, and finally to die in their presence. "But," adds he, "when I take duty and eternity into the account, all these things, so desirable in themselves, appear comparatively small. Eternity will be just as long, and heaven just as sweet, if I die on a desolate island, or on some heathen shore, as though I should die at home, in the midst of my weeping relations. And as for a resting-place for my body, when I shall lay it aside, my bones can rest, — my ashes sleep, as securely in Burmah as in America, — on a desolate, unfrequented island, as in a christian church-yard. Why should I fear to lay me down in Burmah? I shall hear the voice of the archangel, and arise from the grave as soon as though buried in the sepulchre of my fathers. If not deceived, I am willing to spend my days, and to breathe out my life, where duty shall call; whether in America, or in some heathen land; among the relics of departed saints, or by the side of Juggernaut."

On graduating at Waterville, Mr. Boardman had resolved to enter into the missionary labor. But he was immediately appointed a tutor in that college, and most strenuously urged by all his own friends, and by all the friends of the college, to remain in his new relation. The struggle which then arose in his mind was great. He was impelled in one direction by his religious zeal, and by his favorite scheme of usefulness, — while every one else was urging him in another. He reluctantly yielded to importunity, as, probably, most young men of twenty-one years old would have done, from diffidence of their own judgment, — but he did so with the avowed purpose to remain a tutor but a short time. "I now calculate," said he to a fellow student, "*on a year of misery.* My *whole soul is engrossed*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the state of the heathen, and I desire to go among them: but I have engaged for a year, and I must remain!"

That year at length elapsed; — he was free from his engagement; — and he hastened to offer his services to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, — and was at once accepted as a missionary.

The parting scene between Mr. Boardman and his religious friends at Waterville was exceedingly touching. In the corner room, on the third floor of the south college edifice, — from which may be seen the broad surface of the Kennebec, — the green fields on the opposite side, — the president's house, and part of the village; the room which he had occupied for several years, — there, surrounded by his christian brethren, who were members of the college, stood Boardman, about to give the parting hand, and to say the last farewell. He stood by the window for a few moments, as if to survey, for the last time, the objects on which he had so often gazed. After he had lingered for a moment, to view each long familiar object without, he turned away from the window, and cast his eye around upon his beloved companions, who stood in silence, forming a circle quite round the room. All was still. The eye of Boardman alone was undimmed by a tear. In a tender and yet unfaltering tone, he addressed a few words to his brethren: — "My dear brethren, serve your Saviour unceasingly, and faithfully until death, — and if it may not be your duty to be missionaries abroad, be missionaries at home!" We all knelt down in prayer together for the last time. On arising, Boardman passed round the room, and gave to each the parting hand. His countenance was serene, — his mild blue eye beamed with heaven-like benignity, and though there was in his manner a tenderness which shewed he had a heart to feel, yet there was no visible emotion, till he came to his room-mate. As he took *him* by the hand, his whole frame became convulsed, — his tongue faltered, — his eye instantly filled, and the tears fell fast, as if all the tender feelings of his spirit, till now imprisoned, had at this moment broken forth: he wept, he faltered "farewell," and then, smiling through his tears, said, as he left the room, "we shall meet again in heaven!" Such is the account, as given by one who was present on that affecting occasion.

In offering his services to the Missionary Board, Mr. Boardman had signified his willingness to be sent wherever they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would be most valuable. To his delight, however, Burmah was assigned to him as his field of future labor.

He expected to sail within a short time after his appointment, in the same ship which carried back to India the justly celebrated and admired Mrs. Judson. In this expectation he visited, and took leave of, his relatives in Maine. He found his pious parents willing to consecrate their much-loved son to the cause of missions, although their hearts almost broke with the pain of separation. This willingness is worthy of universal admiration and praise. If every man of elevated principles and noble feelings, is ready to regard with emotions of moral sublimity, the stern justice of that elder Brutus who subjected to the claims of violated law his offending sons, and without a tear pronounced their fatal sentence, — how much more will such a one reverence the magnanimity of those parents, who surrender their son to perpetual separation from their presence, to all the hardships and dangers of an almost savage land, to certain peril and pain, disease and early death, in the arduous labors of philanthropy! If we stand awe-struck in the ideal presence of Agamemnon, as he binds his lovely daughter Iphigenia upon the altar of a false and bloody deity, to propitiate favor for his countrymen, — ought we not to bow reverently *to him* and *to her*, who are moved by love for a benevolent God, and love for their fellow-creatures, to surrender their son, bright with talents and virtues, rich in learning and the respect of all who knew him, but feeble and sickly in body, to the missionary labor, — whose certain and speedy end is death?

Boardman describes his own feelings on this occasion as being of the most painful description. They were, however, premature. It was finally decided by the Board of Missions to send out Mr. and Mrs. Wade with Mrs. Judson, while Mr. Boardman should remain some time longer for the sake of preparation in America.

To make this preparation, he went, in June, 1823, to the Theological Seminary at Andover, where he entered with his usual zeal upon the study of Hebrew. While in this institution, he read with thrilling interest the lives of Henry Martyn, Samuel J. Mills, Obookiah, and others, whose devotion to the cause of religion awakened in his breast a sympathetic ardor. He also entered deeply into the spirit of that "*Society of Inquiry respecting Missions*," whose pious labors

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have done so much to diffuse a knowledge of the Gospel through heathen lands, and a knowledge of the wants and woes of the heathen through the christian community. In the ample library of that society, he found every book that could facilitate his preparation, by making him familiar with the history, customs, manners and religions of pagan countries, with the extent, nature and results of missionary labors, and with the inner principles, the moving impulses, of missionaries themselves. Nor did he fail to make a faithful use of these advantages.

He remained, with occasional interruptions, at Andover, till the spring of 1825, when he was called upon to bid his friends a last farewell. We cannot properly estimate the heroism of his character, without a full knowledge of the feelings which agitated his bosom in contemplating this final earthly separation, and the strong current of natural affection against which he resolutely braced himself at the call of duty.

In his journal he thus writes. "What! must I bid adieu to my dear, very dear parents, brothers, and sisters and friends? Must I die before the time? For what is it less than death, to be separated from them, probably to see them no more on earth? But at length it occurred to me that it was Jesus, the dearest of all my friends, who called me to go; — then I said, *welcome separations and farewells; welcome tears and cries; welcome last sad embraces; welcome pangs and griefs, — only let me go where my Saviour calls, and goes himself; welcome toil, disappointments, fatigues and sorrows; welcome an early grave!*"

In a letter to his sister, he says, "that some may perhaps think him destitute of natural affection," but he adds, "they know not my heart, and are unacquainted with the struggles I have often felt. Be assured, my love to my friends was never warmer, my affection for them never stronger, than when I regarded them in the light of a speedy separation." "Had I not had an enlarged view of the greatness and importance of the work before me, I could not have endured the trial!"

In another letter, he expresses himself yet more forcibly. He says, "Think not, my sister, that I have lost all sensibility on the subject. Be assured, if tenderness of feeling, — if ardor of affection, — if attachment to friends, — to christian society and christian privileges, — if apprehension of toil and danger in a missionary life, — if an overwhelming sense of re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sponsibility, — could detain me in America, I should never go to Burmah!" "Since my appointment I have known seasons when the thoughts of parting from my friends seemed almost insupportable." If ever man was, in the beautiful language of Paul, "*constrained by the love of Christ*," Boardman was thus "*constrained*."

But he was not to leave all his friends behind. One whom he most tenderly loved was ready and willing to unite her fortunes with his, and say to him, like Ruth to Naomi, — "whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou abidest, will I abide; thy people shall be my people; and thy God my God; where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried!" Fortunately for the missionaries, and wisely for their employers, it has always been the policy of the Mission Board to prefer married men for their service; correctly considering that such persons are most likely to become efficient, contented and permanent laborers. In pursuance of this judicious policy, and in accordance with his own choice, Mr. Boardman was married a short time before his embarkation for India. His wife was Sarah B. Hall, a young lady of Salem, of whom, as she still lives, it is enough to say that she was just such a person as Boardman needed for a companion in his holy and arduous enterprise; possessing fine natural abilities, which were excellently educated, and which were directed and sanctified by an ardent piety. Like her husband she was zealously attached to the missionary cause, — and like him was ready to devote herself, body and soul, to its advancement.

That Mr. Boardman's choice was a wise and proper one, we shall learn from his subsequent history.

On the sixteenth of July, 1825, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman embarked at Philadelphia, on board the ship Asia, for Calcutta. Their voyage was long, but not otherwise unpleasant, nor marked by any extraordinary occurrence. Mr. Boardman acted as chaplain of the ship, by preaching every sabbath, and attending public prayer every evening; and at least *one* individual among the crew will always remember with delight the influence of these pious services. They landed at Calcutta on the second day of December, and were cordially welcomed by the English missionaries.

At this period Great Britain, or rather the East India Company, was involved in a war with Burmah, and hostilities were carried on with great fury. The chief ministers of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Emperor were determined never to submit to the English, and although the British soldiers, under the able conduct of Sir Archibald Campbell, had again and again defeated the rude troops of the Burmese generals, and had captured several important cities, none of the ministers dared inform their imperial master of the actual condition of affairs. Such is Eastern allegiance! We are assured by some of the missionaries, that although this whole war was one continued series of defeat, disgrace and loss to Burmah, the *royal chronicles* of that period describe it as one of continued and brilliant triumphs and victories, over an insolent but at last humiliated invader.

By this war the American Mission in Burmah was wholly broken up. Dr. Price and Mr. and Mrs. Judson were prisoners at Ava, while Mr. and Mrs. Wade had been driven from the empire, and compelled to seek shelter within British jurisdiction. It was, therefore, impossible for Mr. and Mrs. Boardman to proceed to their original destination. They resolved to take up their abode with Mr. Wade's family at Chitpore near Calcutta, and prosecute the study of the Burman language, until the close of the war, or the occurrence of some other event, which should open to them their proposed field of labor. Accordingly, they domesticated themselves in a little bamboo hut at Chitpore, — which was endeared to them by the fact that it had been previously occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Carey, and was now tenanted by Mr. and Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Colman.

The residence of Mr. Boardman in and near Calcutta, was prolonged through a period of twenty months, during which time, besides studying the language, he preached almost constantly to congregations of English residents, and English and American sailors, — visited the various schools and other institutions for educating and civilizing the natives, and, by communion with other missionaries of greater experience, prepared himself for his approaching labors.

On the 14th of April, 1826, Mr. Boardman announced to the Mission Board the termination of the war in Burmah, and the safety of the American missionaries. This last fact was the cause of unmingled joy through the whole christian world. Nearly two years an impenetrable cloud had hung over the fate of Messrs. Price and Judson, who were universally respected, and also of that heroic woman, Mrs. Judson, who had returned

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from America to her husband in Ava, just before the war broke out. There was every reason, which could exist apart from actual certainty, to believe that they had fallen victims to the fury of the king. In the language of Professor Knowles, "Those who cherished the belief that the missionaries were alive, relied only on the power of that God who had so signally protected this Mission, and who, by an interposition almost as visibly miraculous as that which rescued Peter from his enemies, had recently preserved the missionaries at Rangoon, (Messrs. Wade and wife, and Hough and wife,) from instant, and apparently inevitable death."

Under such circumstances it is no wonder that the news "filled the heart" of Boardman "with joy and gratitude," nor that he spoke of this deliverance from death as "one of the most glorious displays of God's gracious Providence known in modern times." When Napoleon at the treaty of Campo Formio, made it his first demand, in giving terms to Austria, that Lafayette should be rescued from the dungeons of Olmutz, and restored to liberty and France, every generous heart in Europe and America was moved with gratitude for the young conqueror of Italy. So, in like manner, when Sir Archibald Campbell, prescribing the condition of peace to the Emperor of Burmah, within forty miles of his capital, required the safe delivery of the long-suffering Judsons and Price, all Christendom admired the generosity of his conduct, and felt that such an act was worth more to him and to England, than all the treasure or territory acquired by the war. Thousands and thousands of pious hearts, in every quarter of the globe, will long cherish the recollection of this noble deed.

It would be a pleasant task, were it proper, for us here to give our readers a full history of the sufferings through which the rescued missionaries had passed, and the whole of that glorious conduct which has made Mrs. Judson so dear to the lovers of female virtues and heroism; — but this is not the appropriate occasion for such a narrative, — and the story is already familiar to the American community.

Mr. Boardman would have proceeded at once after the establishment of peace, from Calcutta to some Burmese province, — had he not been urged by the English missionaries, and instructed by the American Board to remain awhile in the chaplaincy vacated by the death of Mr. Lawson, who preached in the Circular Board chapel in Calcutta. It was not until

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

March, 1827, that he and his family actually entered upon their original plan of operations as missionaries to Burmah.

In the month last mentioned he sailed from Calcutta for Amherst, the newly built capital of the territories recently ceded to England by the Burman emperor. This place had been surveyed and laid out, under the direction of Mr. Judson, by British engineers, and in an incredibly brief period, became a city of many thousand inhabitants. In India the building of a house requires but a few hours' labor, and the population fluctuates with strange facility from place to place. It is only necessary to make a clearing in the jungle, and erect barracks for a few soldiers, and, as water rushes at once into hollows scooped in the damp sea-sand, so do the swarming natives of India crowd by thousands into the clearing, and create a city. Amherst was built upon the banks of the Martaban, near its mouth, about twenty-five miles below the city of Maulmein, (whose growth was like that of Amherst,) and nearly seventy-five miles eastward of Rangoon.

On his arrival at Amherst, Mr. Boardman first met Mr. Judson. Mrs. Judson was now in her grave, and her afflicted husband seemed to be almost worn out with trouble and suffering. A few days after this, Mr. Judson was called to bury his only child, his "tender-hearted, affectionate, darling Maria," by the side of her mother. Mr. Boardman was obliged to make her coffin with his own hands!

It was soon determined, on consultation between Messrs. Wade, Judson, and Boardman, that two Mission establishments should be commenced, — one by Mr. W. in Amherst, another by Mr. B. in Maulmein, — between which Mr. J. was to divide his care.

In prosecution of this project, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman proceeded on the 28th of May, to Maulmein. Of that city he says, "the native population of M. is supposed to be 20,000. *One year ago it was all a thick jungle, without an inhabitant!*" On the evening of May 28th, Mr. B. makes the following entry in his Journal: — "Arrived at Maulmein. After nearly two years of wanderings, without any certain dwelling-place, we have to day become inhabitants of a little spot of earth, and have entered a house which we call our earthly home. None but those who have been in similar circumstances, can conceive the satisfaction we now enjoy." This sounds pleasantly, and seems to promise quiet, comfort and security;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and perhaps the reader might be ready to fancy that after all a missionary's life was about as pleasant and easy as any other person's. We advise him to suspend his judgment, till he has examined somewhat more particularly into the facts in the case.

Looking further along the Journal we find recorded against June 25, the following startling piece of information: — "last night our house was robbed of nearly every valuable article it contained!" Is this one of the *comforts* of missionary life? The robbery was committed by desperadoes from the opposite shore of the Martaban river. This river separates the British and Burmese territories; on its western bank the deserted city of Martaban was the lurking-place of numerous hordes of robbers, who were continually crossing over at night for the sake of plunder, and who scrupled no more at murder than at robbery. On this occasion the plunderers, taking advantage of Mr. Boardman's solitary situation, broke into what was *called* his *house*; — "a *house* of such frail materials," to use the words of Mrs. Boardman, "*that it could be cut open in any part with a pair of scissors*;" they broke open and rifled every trunk, box and bureau, and carried off looking-glass, watch, spoons, and keys, in short every article of value they could find. Fortunately Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were not awakened by the noise of the marauders, and knew nothing of their loss till morning. Had their slumbers been broken, there can be no doubt that they would have been instantly murdered; for there had been cut through the moscheto curtains of the bed two large holes, one at the foot, and the other at the head, through which the villains doubtless watched with murderous eye the faces of the sleepers.

After this robbery a guard of two sepoys was stationed in Mr. Boardman's house; but, as it seemed, their presence was intended to reveal the existence of another species of that danger, by which Mr. and Mrs. B. were surrounded. As one of the guard was sitting in the verandah, a tiger, or some other furious beast, sprang suddenly upon him, and before help could arrive had scratched and wounded him considerably. The silence of midnight was almost constantly interrupted by the howling of wild beasts, so that our friends were daily obliged to shudder at the frail structure and flimsy protection of their abode. An incident related by Mrs. Wade during her recent visit to this country, was listened to with thrilling

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interest by the writer of this article, and as it seems worthy of repetition, now that we are speaking of the dangers of a residence in India, — it may be here related.

In the rear of their bamboo hut was a small garden enclosed by a slight wicker fence, and surrounded by jungle. In this enclosure was erected a little summer-house or arbor, of scarcely firmer fabric than the wicker, and elevated a few feet above the ground. This room was occupied by Mr. Judson as a study, while the house was open for the reception of visitors, who might come to inquire about the new religion. Mr. Judson was engaged in translating the Bible, and Mr. and Mrs. Wade in teaching, and in distributing books. At the close of a day of toil, Mr. and Mrs. Wade retired to the study of Mr. Judson, for the purpose of spending a short time with him in conversation. As it grew dark they rose to return to the house. Mrs. Wade first stepped out of the summer-house, pausing on the steps to complete a sentence which she was uttering. A little dog that accompanied her ran out before his mistress towards the house. He had scarcely reached the gate when an enormous tiger leaped growling upon him from the jungle. The size of the spaniel saved him, for he slipped through the claws of the wild beast and ran yelping into the house. Robbed of his expected prey, the tiger, as though alarmed at finding himself encaged by the garden fence, walked rapidly around the area, snuffing the breeze and searching for an outlet. Mrs. Wade had retreated into the arbor, and through its frail texture the three friends now gazed upon their dangerous neighbor. As he approached them he seemed to become conscious of their vicinity, and be roused to fury by the smell of blood. At this moment a large mastiff, who was attracted by the yelping of the spaniel, came barking into the garden. Fatally for him, but fortunately for his owners, he was seen by the tiger, who in an instant, with a howl that resounded far through the stillness of evening, sprang upon the faithful creature, siezed him with the gripe of death, and sprang off with his prey into the jungle.

Occasionally moved to fear by incidents like these, Mrs. Boardman was ready to exclaim "oh for one little, *little* room, composed of such materials as would enable us and our babe to sleep in safety!"

At his house in Maulmein Mr. Boardman, who had now acquired a tolerable knowledge of the language, devoted his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time to the reception and instruction of those natives who were curious to learn the religion which he had come so far to teach. He was almost constantly surrounded by these inquirers. He also visited among the natives, declaring to all the story of salvation, and the doctrine of the Gospel. On Sunday, July 22, he and his wife alone sat down to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; — and although far from all christian friends, they felt no ordinary degree of religious delight in performing that service. We have no doubt that, to a really pious man, the very circumstances of separation from Christians, and of being surrounded by the horrible rites and the unspeakable evils of paganism, would be productive of both benefit and comfort, by compelling him to look within himself, and to his relation with the great Father of all, for enjoyment; and would thus elevate and spiritualize his thoughts and affections; while the awful contrast, ever present to his eyes, between the loveliness of Christianity and the loathsomeness of idolatry, must of necessity inflame his love for the one and his horror for the other, and thus at once add depth to his devotion, and ardor to his zeal for the conversion of the perishing crowd around him. Such was the effect produced upon Mr. and Mrs. Boardman; and in the pages of their journals and letters there appears the most convincing proof, that to them the joys of religion were constantly on the increase.

In October of this year Mr. Wade and wife, and Mr. Judson removed from Amherst, and joined Mr. B. at Maulmein. This removal was occasioned by the rapid decrease of population at Amherst, the inhabitants of which thronged into Maulmein. Before the close of the year two schools, one for children of each sex, were established, and two places of public worship erected. In these houses of worship Mr. Wade and Mr. Judson were daily employed in proclaiming religious truths and in circulating religious books and tracts. The schools were speedily filled, and the zayats crowded with listeners.

Two of Mr. Boardman's pupils were children of a Burman woman who had died a Christian. He was gratified to perceive that the mother had early and thoroughly taught them Bible truths, and that they were familiar with the narrative and doctrine of the sacred volume. The following is a translation of a letter dictated by one of them in January, 1828:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, I daily, without ceasing, offer up prayers. I pray continually that the blessed religion of the Lord Jesus Christ may be established. I am reading the Gospel of Matthew, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and am studying a tract. I have great respect and love for my benefactors who live in America, and affectionately address them this letter."

The labors of the missionaries were not unattended with success. Three of the natives became believers in Christianity and were baptised, within a few months; and several more requested admission into the little church; so that there was much reason to rejoice that the mission had been fixed in Maulmein.

On the 8th of March, 1828, our friends were threatened with destruction by a danger not altogether unknown in some portions of our own country. Just as they were lighting their evening lamps, they heard "the noise of a mighty rushing wind" approaching, and on going to the door discovered that the whole range of hills eastward was enveloped in flames, which, with the roaring sound of a hurricane, rapidly spread through the thick and dry grass and undergrowth of the jungle, toward their bamboo cottage. As the fire flew on the wings of the wind from point to point, it seemed that nothing could rescue the house from its fury; Mr. and Mrs. B. hastily packed up a few valuable articles and prepared to retreat from the devouring element. Their regret at being thus driven from their home was accompanied by a fear lest their path should be beset with the tigers, leopards, and other wild beasts, which were expelled from their usual haunts by the flames. The fire continued to advance till within a few feet of the houses, when providentially the wind ceased, and its progress was arrested. "Thus we are again preserved," says Mr. B. "when no human arm could have saved us!" The feelings of a *husband* were on this occasion associated with the love of a *father*.

Twenty-one days after this occurrence Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were once more without a home, pilgrims and wanderers. In accordance with the plan of the Missionary Board at home, it was resolved that a new station should be established in the province of Tavoy. This province, which is one of those ceded to England at the close of the recent Burmese war, lies at the head of that peninsula, which separates the Bay of Bengal from the Gulf of Siam, north of the Malay country, and adjoining

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the kingdom of Siam. The capital city of this province, which bears the same name, is situated in latitude 13° 4′ north, on a low plain, almost surrounded by high mountains. To this city, which is one hundred and fifty miles eastward of Rangoon, it was deemed advisable to send Mr. Boardman: and as duty seemed to require his consent, he gave it cheerfully, although contrary to his most cherished plans.

He had hailed Maulmein as a home, and looked forward to a fixed residence therein with real pleasure. To his church and school there he had become strongly attached, and from his pupils and hearers he had reason to expect that many would become believers in Christianity. If it had been necessary for him to remove, and he had been permitted to select his own place of residence, he would have gone to Aracan, where labored and died that Mr. Colman, whose fate had first kindled in his breast a desire to go to India. But still he was ready to yield to the wish of others, and settle in Tavoy. That this submission cost him some effort, and was considerably opposed to his own previous desire, we infer from some singular precepts which he wrote and sent to a young friend in America. He says "Do not be disappointed or grieved if your brethren should pursue a course, in several respects different from what you should recommend!"

On his arrival with Mrs. Boardman and his infant daughter, at Tavoy, they were kindly received by Mr. Burney the commissioner for the Tavoy district; though their spirits seemed to have been somewhat affected by not knowing whether they were to spend their days in Tavoy, or wander still farther. "One thing *is* certain," says Mr. B. "we were brought here by the guidance of Providence. It was no favorite scheme of ours."

Within ten days from his arrival Mr. Boardman procured a house, was quietly settled, and had begun to preach in the language of Burmah to curious crowds of the worshippers of Guadama, many of whom manifested a very encouraging spirit of candor and inquiry.

Soon after Mr. Boardman was established in Tavoy, he was brought into connexion with the *Karens*, a singular and hitherto almost unknown race of men. Of this race we are induced to speak more particularly, inasmuch as recent inquiry seems to establish, or at least render extremely probable, its descent from a Hebrew root.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Karens are a wild and ignorant race of men, scattered in prodigious numbers over all the wilds of Aracan, Burmah, Martaban, Tavoy, Mergui, Siam and other countries. They live in places almost inaccessible to any but themselves and the wild beasts, — differing most essentially from the other inhabitants of the abovenamed countries, with a peculiar physiognomy, a peculiar language, peculiar mental and moral qualities, and characteristics. They had no written language, and of course no literature, until Mr. Wade, one of the missionaries of the American Baptist Board, reduced their language to writing. But they abound in curious traditions, handed down from generation to generation, in the form of both prose and poetry. Amongst other traditional stories is this: — that when some superior being was dispensing written languages and books, to the various nations of the earth, a surly dog came along and drove away the Karens, and carried off their books. Because of their singular habits, their ignorance and want of written language, they are called *Wildmen* by the Burmans. Mr. Boardman supposed that they were atheists, — but incorrectly; for although we find among them few traces of religious belief, it is evident from the tradition just related, and from the discoveries of Mr. Mason, a missionary now amongst them, that they have a tolerably clear conception of a Supreme Being. They are not, however, idolaters. Their simplicity of life may be learned from the short inventory of the chattels and personal property, which constitute their domestic wealth. These are a box of betel made of bamboo, — a little rice, a basket, a cup, two pots, a spinning-wheel, a knife, an axe, a mat, a few buckets, and a moveable fire-place. This is their whole array of valuables. They manufacture an intoxicating liquor, and are much addicted to intemperance. Too idle and effeminate to be quarrelsome, they are peaceful and mild in their disposition and habits, and being persecuted and trampled on by their haughty neighbors, they are driven together by community of suffering, and attached by brotherhood in misfortune.

A more extended notice should be given to those circumstances, which have led to the conjecture that the Karens are of Jewish original.

At the request of the English commissioner, Mr. Mason, who had been much amongst the Karens, communicated to him the following results of his observation and inquiry in regard to them. Their countenance is decidedly Jewish: the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beard is worn long by many of them, and their dress, differing from that of surrounding nations, is precisely like that of the Hebrews, both in texture, fashion and mode of wearing. But it is their remarkable traditions which most strikingly indicate an affinity with, if not a descent from, the Hebrew race.

These traditions have been preserved, like the poems of Ossian, by fond memories delighting to revive the recollections of former glory and prosperity; — repeated by grandsires at eventide to their listening descendants, and sung by mourners over the graves of their elders.

They believe in a God, who is denominated Kū-tsa, or great Lord, — and Yu-wah, or Jehovah. That this last word is identical with the Hebrew Jehovah seems very probable. We know not how the original word in Hebrew was pronounced. The Greek writers spelt it thus, ΙΑΩ. With the Masoretic pointing, and dropping the middle syllable, as Bishops Hare and Lowth both do, we have the Karen word Yu-wah. Like the Jews the Karens regard this word as sacred, and fear to utter it. They repeat a verse containing this sentiment:—

"God created us in ancient time,
And has a perfect knowledge of all things:
Call him not Yu-wah, but call him Pū; — (great ancestor;)
When men call his name he hears!"

With regard to God's attributes, their belief is thus expressed:—

"God is unchangeable and eternal:
He was in the beginning of the world:
The life of God is endless:
A succession of words does not measure it."

They believe in the existence of heavenly beings, who have never sinned, and who are the angels, or messengers, of Deity. The following beautiful verse is a part of one of their old poems:

"The sons of heaven are holy,
They sit by the seat of God:
The sons of heaven are righteous,
They dwell together with God,
They lean against his silver seat."

Satan, or a sinful and fallen angel, enters into their company

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of supernatural beings. The following stanza might be mistaken for the production of David, or Isaiah: —

"Satan in days of old was holy,
But he transgressed God's law:
Satan of old was righteous,
But he departed from the law of God,
And God drove him away."

Another of their traditional relics, in the prosaic form, is thus expressed: "Oh children and grand-children! in the beginning God, to try man, whether he would or would not observe his commands, created the tree of death and the tree of life; saying concerning the tree of death, 'eat not of it!' He wished to see whether man believed. Not believing, he ate of the fruit of the tree of death; and the tree of life God hid. Because the tree of life has been hidden, men have died ever since that time." The Karens say that Satan tempted woman to eat the forbidden fruit of the tree of death.

They also believe that woman was made from the rib of man. The dispersion at Babel is thus described: —

"Men were all brethren:
They spoke the language of God:
But they disbelieved the language of God,
And became enemies to each other.
Because they disbelieved God,
Their language was divided.
God gave them commands,
But they believed him not,
And divisions ensued: —"

and the ultimate fate of the earth, to which frequent allusions are made in their poetry, they say will be destruction by fire.

Their religious code embraces the following scriptural duties: — viz. love to God, prayer, repentance, abstinence from idolatry, honor to parents, which last is thus declared, —

"Respect and reverence your father and mother; for when you were small they did not suffer so much as a moscheto to bite you. To sin against your parents is a heinous crime. —

It also includes love to others, — alms-giving, — universal benevolence, — love to enemies, — patience and humility: — and like the scripture, it forbids murder, robbery, theft, adultery, lying, profanity, idleness, covetousness, avarice, intemperance,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anger and revenge. The following precept seems to have been drawn fresh from the sermon of Christ on the mount: — "Oh children and grand-children! if a person strike you on the face, he does not strike you on the face; he only strikes on the floor: therefore if a person strike you on one cheek, give him the other to strike."

Respecting their own nation, the Karens say that God formerly loved it above all others, but that on account of its sins he punished it, and reduced its inhabitants to their present condition. "But," say they, "God will again have mercy on us: God will save us again." "Oh children and grand-children! the Karen will yet dwell in the city with the golden palace; — the Karen king will yet appear, and when he arrives there will be happiness.

"Good persons, the good,
Shall go to the silver city:
Righteous persons shall go
To the new town, — the new city!"

"When the Karen king arrives,
There will be only one monarch:
When the Karen king comes,
Rich and poor will not exist!"

"When the Karen king arrives,
Every thing will be happy:
When the Karen king arrives,
The beasts will be happy:
When Karens have a king,
Lions and leopards will lose their savageness!"

Abundance of quotations from their unwritten literature might be made to illustrate the similarity which exists between the Karens and the Jews, and to show that they are a most remarkable race of men. But enough has been already laid before our readers, to excite curiosity and direct the attention of philosophic as well as religious inquirers to this hitherto unknown race.

Such being their character, condition, and religious notions, it cannot surprise us that when they heard of the religion of Jesus Christ from Mr. Boardman, they were ready to admire and embrace it. Immediately after his arrival in Tavoy he was visited by some of the neighboring Karen tribes, who were able

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to converse in the Burman tongue, and who listened with the simplicity and candor of children to his conversation, and displayed so great a willingness to adopt Christianity, that he was led to question their sincerity. He could not readily believe that a people so barbarous, so far removed from all christian countries, and who seemed to him wholly irreligious, were sincerely gratified to learn the story of the Gospel, and adopt the religion of Jesus. To us, who now know more about them, it seems by no means strange that they were thus affected.

The few Karens who first called on Mr. B. soon returned to their mountain fastnesses, and circulated the thrilling news that a teacher, from a strange and far distant land, had come to preach a new religion, — a religion that told of one God, of a Saviour, of a pure and peaceful and holy life, of love to God and love to man; of an immortality, and of a heaven of blessedness. The glad tidings ran, like fire upon the mountains, from village to village, and was every where hailed as the dawning of a long expected day, — the day when the poor Karens should once more have a national faith, — a religion answering to the traditions of their fathers.

From far distant hills, and remote valleys and forests, Karen inquirers flocked to Tavoy, and thronging around *the teacher*, hung upon his lips, and eagerly listened to his instructions, and manifested child-like pleasure and credulity in receiving as true all his assertions. Mr. Boardman was amazed; — he knew not what to believe or think. They urged him to come up into their wild hills, and visit them; and promised that he should be welcomed as a messenger of joy. They told him many singular stories, and among others this; — that more than ten years before, a man in a strange dress came among them, and preached a strange doctrine, and left among them a book in a strange language, which he ordered them to worship, telling them also that there was but one living and true God. After he went away they remembered and believed his words; they appointed a priest to take charge of the sacred volume, of which they did not know even the language, and they continued, in defiance of severe persecution by the Burmans, to obey their unknown teacher, and worship the book and the one living and true God.

Mr. Boardman's curiosity was aroused: he requested them to bring and show to him this sacred book; and they readily promised to do so. Their compliance was delayed first by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sickness of the person who acted as priest or guardian of the mysterious volume, and next by the floods which in the rainy season of the year completely cut off the city of Tavoy from the Karen villages. It was not till September that they succeeded in gratifying Mr. Boardman's wishes. Early in September, on returning home one day from his house of public worship, (zayat) he found his dwelling thronged with Karens, who informed him that the teacher had arrived with THE BOOK, the much venerated book. He called them up and inquired what they wished; — when the teacher came forward, and thus replied. — "*My Lord*, your humble servants have come from the wilderness to lay at your lordship's feet a certain book, and to inquire of your lordship whether it is good or bad, true or false. We, Karens, your humble servants, are an ignorant race of people; we have no books, no written language; we know nothing of God or his law. When this book was given us we were charged to worship it, which we have done for twelve years. But we know nothing of its contents, not so much as in what language it is written. We have heard of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and are persuaded of its truth, and we wish to know if this book contains the doctrine of that Gospel. We are persuaded that your lordship can easily settle that question, and teach us the true way of becoming happy." Mr. B. requested them to show the book, when the old man opened a large basket, and having removed fold after fold of wrappers, he handed out an old tattered duodecimo volume; — it was an English copy of the *Prayer Book and Psalter!* For twelve years had this little work been made an object of ignorant worship.

The deified book, through the politeness of the Baptist Missionary Board, now lies before the writer of this article. It is covered with coarse, blue, cotton cloth, and wrapped about with a long strip of muslin, white, striped, and rudely embroidered. The volume has lost both its covers, and several of the outside pages at each end; but fortunately the title-page to the Psalms, towards the close, is in good preservation. The gilding of the leaves is only partially injured. It is a pleasing and singular fact that, in its present condition, the volume commences with the collect for *The Epiphany, or the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles.* The title-page to the Psalms reads thus: —

"The whole BOOK of PSALMS, collected into English Me-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tre, by THOMAS STERNHOLD, JOHN HOPKINS, and others; conferred with the Hebrew; set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of all the people together, before and after morning and evening prayer; and also before and after sermons; and moreover in private houses, for their godly solace and comfort; laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth. OXFORD; &c. &c. MDCCCVI."

Within the leaves we find, in the writing of Mr. Boardman himself, the following short account. "This book of Common Prayer, with the Psalms, was, for about twelve years, an object of religious veneration, to a company of wild men (Karens) in the province of Tavoy. They knew nothing of its contents, — not even in what language it was composed, — but as they were taught by the person who gave it them, they paid it an ignorant but supreme worship, till, hearing of our arrival in Tavoy, they brought it forward and presented it to me, accepting in its stead a version of a part of the Psalms in the Burman language, which they partially understand. Some of them have since embraced the Gospel, and are desirous of being baptised. The book is now forwarded to America, to be deposited in the Museum of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.

Tavoy, March 25th, 1829.

It were vain to conjecture how this little book found its way into the heart of the Tavoy forest, where it was found, as never book before was seen, elevated into an object of religious adoration. But one cannot help wondering whether it was left with the Karens by a really pious Englishman, its owner, whose instructions were misunderstood, or by some profane scoffer, who was willing to try the experiment of furnishing a barbarous tribe with an object of sacred respect, and left his prayer-book as the first thing that came to hand for the purpose. We scarcely hope to see the mystery solved.

We are ahead of our story, to which we will now return. Mr. Boardman established a school immediately after his arrival in Tavoy, and pursued the same course of public teaching as at Maulmein, and, as at that place, so here also, he attracted great curiosity, and was resorted to by great numbers, until he became an object of suspicion to the priesthood. This nu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merous body, which in Tavoy alone amounted to at least two hundred, soon found, like the shrine-makers of Ephesus, that the new religion was likely to make sad work with their ancient power, consideration and wealth; and *of course* could not avoid cherishing towards the teacher of it a spirit of enmity and revenge. We say *of course*, for the religion of Guadama or Boodh, does not teach its disciples to return benefit for injury, — good for evil. But however unpleasant might be the aspect of their angry countenances, and the sound of their unfriendly voices, no real and open danger could be apprehended from the priests under the sway of the British government; so that, although their timid disciples might, by the frowns of these ministers of iniquity, be frightened from Mr. Boardman's zayat, yet Mr. and Mrs. Boardman themselves had nothing to apprehend.

Soon after their arrival in Tavoy, a Karen, named Ko-thah-byoo, who had become a Christian in Maulmein, and removed with Mr. B., was baptized. Moved by the desire of extending to his countrymen in Tavoy the gospel-light, he started, immediately after his baptism, on an excursion among the distant Karen settlements; and with him went many joyful members of these rude tribes. Three excursions of this kind did he make, each one of longer duration than the last, before Mr. Boardman himself complied with the oft repeated request of the Karens to come himself among them. Roused by the strange message which was thus brought among them, these simple-hearted people travelled many days' journey to converse with the American Teacher, and on their return spread still more widely the moving story, so that, in more than one vast province of India, the Karens were excited to inquiry.

The year 1828 passed away, without Mr. Boardman's having yielded to the Karen call. Meantime he had been laboring day and night with a zeal of exhausting ardor, and a consuming industry. His labors had been crowned with the establishment of a native church, consisting of four members, and of a flourishing school. One of his baptismal scenes is so finely sketched by his pen, that we cannot deny our readers the pleasure of its perusal.

"Having previously examined Moung-Bo and Kee-Keang, the two persons who applied for baptism last month, we could not, consistently with our feelings of duty, defer their case any longer,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and this day has been fixed on for administering the ordinance. Accordingly, after worship, a little band of us, passing through that part of the town most sacred to Guadama, bent our way among Pagodas, temples, and Kyoungs, — alike unheeded and unheeding, — and entering the high Pagoda road, we passed on till we came to the baptismal tank. Near the tank, was a tall Pagoda, pointing its gilded summit to the skies. It being Burman as well as Christian worship day, the multitude were gathered around to pay their devotions to the gilded shrine. In that tank, under the shadow of that Pagoda, and in sight of their former companions, who now gazed with mingled astonishment and malice, the two young disciples solemnly renounced their vain idols, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ, by a public profession of his name. Oh! it was a joyful and memorable occasion. Some of the heavenly host, I doubt not, gazed on the sight with approbation; and he who promised to be in the midst of two or three assembled in his name, was, I trust, in the midst of us."

Mr. B. had devised an extensive and excellent plan of school instruction for the province of Tavoy, which now promises, in the hands of the Missionary Board, to become productive of abundant good. His labors had been rendered more arduous by the fact that the dialect of the Burmese, spoken in Tavoy, differed widely from that which he had previously learned at Calcutta and Maulmein, so that while teaching his scholars, preaching to his hearers, engaged in building zayats and houses, contriving plans of operation, performing the domestic duties of husband and parent, and corresponding with friends in America, he was obliged to prosecute the study of Tavoyan-Burmese.

These multiplied duties, pursued in that urgent spirit which characterized this good man, so wore upon his feeble system, that in December of this year, (1828) he was attacked with one of the most alarming symptoms of consumption, — a copious expectoration of blood. This circumstance was enough to remind Mr. Boardman that his tenure on life was feeble and uncertain, — but not enough to damp his zeal. He regarded it as a warning to "work while the day lasted."

On the 5th of February, 1829, he left his wife and family for the purpose of making his long projected visit to the Karens. He was accompanied by two Karens, two of the largest boys from his school, and a Malabar cook. They started at 9 o'clock, A. M. and travelled till 5 P. M., but proceeded only

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eighteen miles. It was the hottest season of the year, — the road was a winding foot-path, traversing cultivated fields, and uncultivated hills and valleys, and thick, tangled, and lofty bamboo jungles. They suffered from the burning heat, and were completely drenched by an unexpected shower of rain, which overtook them in an uninhabited spot, and beat upon them furiously. They were obliged to encamp in the open wilderness, — where they were again wet through by a storm that lasted till midnight.

On the 6th they rose early, feeling grateful that they had not fallen a prey to the tigers, wild elephants, or other savage animals which haunt these forests. Their road this day lay over rough cliffs and precipices, across large streams, and along the rugged banks of mountain torrents. They slept in the hut of a hospitable Karen.

On the 7th they met messengers from a Karen village, who came out to receive them with a warm and christian-like hospitality, which cheered Mr. Boardman's heart. At three o'clock they reached the village, found a large house prepared for them, and were literally overwhelmed with presents of provisions and fruits. The faces of the villagers beamed with delight, and they exclaimed "ah, you have come *at last;* we have long wanted to see you!" Mr. Boardman, notwithstanding his fatigue, preached to the natives who assembled this evening, and again he delivered three sermons on the day following. On the 9th he delivered several sermons, and spent the day (Sunday) in a manner to himself most delightful. As he intended to depart early next morning, nearly half the congregation remained in the zayat all night, so as to bid him farewell.

On the 10th and 11th he preached in other villages, where, as before, he found attentive and eager listeners.

On the 12th he travelled through the most difficult paths under circumstances of great discomfort, and at night after going to bed, he was for the third time deluged with a rain so powerful that it penetrated the bamboo roof, and soaked through all his clothing, and drenched his baggage.

On the 13th he returned to Tavoy, — having travelled more than a hundred miles, and preached *seventeen* sermons within the space of nine days, besides being exposed to the fury of storms in unsheltered places. By this journey Mr. Boardman was convinced that his doubts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as to the sincerity of the Karen character were unjust. The hospitalities which he received, the joy created by his presence among the villagers, the earnest attention bestowed upon his preaching, were enough to satisfy him that the Karens were prepared to adopt his religion and become Christians.

On his return to Tavoy, his feelings were severely tried by discovering that some of the native members of his church had been guilty of gross misconduct, and were disgracing their profession. Family trouble was soon added to his afflictions, by the illness of his wife. In May, he was obliged by her feebleness of health to abandon his labors for a time for the purpose of giving her the benefit of a voyage. A fortnight's vacation restored her strength and spirits, and he returned to Tavoy.

In July, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were called upon to mourn the death of their eldest child. "Our anxieties about her," says the weeping father, "are now over; but Oh! how affection still clings to her, and often sets her ruddy, beauteous form before our eyes!" At the same time their only surviving child was apparently at the point of death, — so that, while laying Sarah in her grave, they trembled at the probability of soon depositing George by her side. But he was spared.

During this month, Mr. Boardman prepared a record of the various afflictions by which his soul had been tried within the year; these were three successive losses of property by shipwreck: the apostasy of several of his church: two attacks of hemorrhage on the lungs; the illness of his wife, the death of one child and the alarming illness of the other. "It grieves me," said he, "to think that I was so sinful as to need such afflictions!"

On Sunday morning, August 9th, our friends were roused from their sleep by the ringing of alarm bells, discharges of musketry, and the cries of their pupils, "master, teacher, Tavoy rebels." They rose in great alarm and found that the city was in open revolt, and bullets were whistling around their heads. The rebel forces soon compelled them to desert their house, which stood without the city gates, and to take refuge within the walls. The English forces were small and feeble, and under the pressure of an immense host of insurgents, every moment becoming more numerous and violent, they were obliged in a few hours to evacuate the city, and retreat to the wharf. To

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this place, a wooden building of six rooms, were carried the arms and other military stores; and therein were huddled all the sepoys with their baggage, and hundreds of European women and children, all looking for protection to the English. In these narrow quarters, surrounded by casks of gunpowder, which were exposed to constant danger of explosion, — cut off from all communication with any other place, — poorly furnished with provisions, and exhausted by fatigue and the diseases of the rainy season, the wretched Europeans awaited their approaching fate. Meantime the work of destruction went rapidly forward in the city, and fire and sword made terrible havoc. On Thursday morning an assault was made at day-break upon the wharf, by a party of five hundred insurgents, who set fire to several neighboring houses and vessels. Providentially a violent rain prevented the spread of the flames; and still more fortunately, a British steamer hove in sight, bringing succor to the desponding garrison at the wharf. The steam vessel, after taking the females on board, returned for reinforcements to Maulmein. On Saturday an attack was made upon the town by the British, and the walls again brought into their possession. On Sunday the city was completely restored to quiet, and the European inhabitants freed from all danger. Mr. Boardman describes the scene presented on his return within the walls, as one of utter and awful havoc and desolation. Everything destructible had been destroyed. His own house was "cut to pieces," its contents burnt, or broken, or carried off, — and nothing but a few fragments left to indicate its fate. But his wife and child were safe at Maulmein; his own life was preserved, and none of his church or scholars had been concerned in, or injured by, the insurrection; — his strongest feeling, therefore, was *gratitude*. In about a month he and his family were once more at Tavoy, as though nothing had occurred.

To increase that pleasure which he had derived from a short visit at Maulmein with Messrs. Judson and Wade, he now found that his fate had been an object of intense interest to the Karens, and that his safety was a subject of devout thankfulness. These "wild-men" flocked around him from the remotest corners of Tavoy, in great numbers; and one old man of threescore and five years had traversed mountains, rocks, hills and streams, a distance of fifty miles, to solicit baptism.

Encouraged by increasing attention among the natives, he now

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commenced a course of itinerary preaching in the scattered villages of Tavoy; visiting three or four of these villages each week, and teaching both publicly and from house to house. It is impossible for us to form adequate notions of the arduousness of this mode of labor, in the burning climate of India. Within two months he visited nearly thirty villages in this manner, being almost universally received willingly and with pleasure, though sometimes treated with unkindness. The Karen village Ts'heik-koo, the one in which he first preached in February, became wholly Christian in its character, paying a sacred regard to the Sabbath, and in other respects conforming to Christian customs and institutions. The schools became more full and flourishing than ever, — the church increased in numbers, and a delightful prosperity seemed destined to follow the short reign of confusion and danger.

Early in 1830, Mr. Boardman's constitution began rapidly to break down under his enormous burden of care and labor; — and the voice of approaching death was heard in his consumptive cough. Mrs. Boardman was also reduced to the very point of death by disease, and the whole system of Missionary operations was for several weeks suspended, while Mr. B. attended, as he thought, to the wants of his dying wife. "What will become of my child," thought he; "what will become of the schools, of the poor native women, — and what will become of *me*, if she die?" On her recovery his thankfulness knew no bounds; — his letters are eloquent in their utterance of joy and praise.

There are but few incidents to relate as occurring within the year 1830. Mrs. Boardman's health compelled her to leave Tavoy and go to Maulmein, where she and her husband were once more obliged to mourn over the death of a child, — an infant son. Mr. B. made a third and long excursion among the Karens, on the hill of Tavoy, where the Gospel was hailed as indeed glad tidings. By advice of his missionary brethren, he passed a few months in Maulmein; — but, their plan not being carried into full effect, he returned to the Tavoy station. At the close of the year, the Tavoy church included thirty-one native members, — of whom eighteen Karens were baptized at once, in November. Mr. Boardman's health was now wretchedly bad, — and it was manifest to all, that he had but a brief period of labor or of life before him. But his heart

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beat joyfully even in prospect of death, — and his spirits rose in anticipation of his heavenly rest.

The last record which has reached America, in Mr. Boardman's hand-writing, is dated January 1, 1831, and is an entry in his Journal. It announces the expected addition of one or two missionaries to the Tavoy station, — and of several Karens to the church.

On the 23d of January, Rev. Mr. Mason and wife arrived at Tavoy, from America. They arrived in time to accompany Mr. Boardman in his last tour among the Karens, and to witness his death.

Mr. Mason perceived on his arrival, that Boardman was "a dying man," but as his heart was fixed on visiting the Karen villages once more, no objection was made to the journey, — although he was too much debilitated to walk. He was carried by his faithful Karens on a cot-bed the whole distance of a three days' journey, accompanied by Mr. Mason, and by his own affectionate wife, who would not remain behind. The journey was commenced on the 31st of January.

On arriving at the zayat, which had been prepared for his reception, the Karen converts who were anxious to be baptized came in for examination, and the worthy missionary, reclining on his couch, devoted his failing breath to the agreeable duty. Of more than fifty who applied, thirty-four were deemed fit subjects of baptism. When the hour for performing this ceremony arrived, Mr. Boardman, at his own request, was carried to the water-side, though so weak that he could scarcely breathe without the use of the fan and smelling-bottle. His great desire was to behold the administration of the ordinance, — and he said that he could then die with the exclamation of Simeon on his lips, — "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!" His emotions were almost too powerful for his frame. He afterwards addressed a few words to the natives around him, and offered a short prayer. The party attempted the following day to return; — they were overtaken by a violent shower of rain; — the dying man was again drenched with wet among those hills, where he had so often before been exposed to tempest; — he survived the night, but died at noon of February 12th, in the arms of the Karen attendants, who were bearing him homeward. The sorrow of wife and friends, who shall describe? The hand of God was recognised even through the cloud of death, and the grief of those who la-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mented the removal of a faithful servant in the midst of his labors, was assuaged by the reflection, that he had "entered into the joy of his Lord."

The whole Christian world were Boardman's mourners. The whole Karen nation wept bitterly over his grave. The station at Tavoy is now occupied by faithful Missionaries, — and the blessings of Christianity are rapidly spreading over that province; — but Boardman is still unforgotten; — *his* name, who first preached salvation to the poor *wildmen*, is now whispered by hundreds of grateful voices at the even-tide circle of friends, and at the altar of simple and pure devotion.

We must close our long article somewhat abruptly, by a recommendation of the biography to the perusal of our readers, who will find it full of interest, and free from any display of narrow or sectarian feeling. The following Epitaph is intended to be inscribed on Boardman's tomb.

Sacred to the memory of George D. Boardman, American Missionary to Burmah. Born Feb. 8, 1801, — Died Feb. 11, 1831. *His Epitaph is written in the adjoining forests.* Ask in the Christian villages of yonder mountains — who taught you to abandon the worship of demons? — Who raised you from vice to morality? — Who brought you your Bibles, your Sabbaths, and your words of prayer? Let the reply be his Eulogy! *a cruce corona.*

ART. V. — *National Gallery.*

The National Portrait Gallery of distinguished Americans, conducted by James Herring, New-York, and James B. Longacre, Philadelphia. New-York.

AMONG the various expressions by which the predominating spirit of the times, especially as developed in this country, has been described, one of the happiest is that which denominates it "the age of commemoration." For some time past a disposition has been manifested, in almost every section of the Union, to recover and to record every thing, which might be regarded

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as illustrative of the men and events connected with the history of the country. This historical spirit may justly be considered as one of the main-springs of that remarkable advancement of the national literature, which has occurred within the last twenty years. It will be regarded by our posterity, in all coming ages, as most fortunate for them that this commemorative propensity began to be so actively and effectually exhibited by a generation, standing so near, as we do, to the very commencement of the existence of the country itself, as the abode of civilization. Although two centuries have necessarily thrown some shadows over the incidents and characters of our annals, the most important of them, and indeed almost all of them of any importance, may still be recovered from obscurity, and secured from oblivion; and if we are faithful to our trust, and make a proper use of our opportunities, it will be entirely in our power to preserve, for coming ages, all that is worth preservation of the history of our own times.

In a literary point of view it is impossible to estimate too highly, the importance of cultivating the spirit of which we are speaking. The most natural and useful basis of a national literature is found in historical incidents, persons, and associations. They will supply the best, — and in the absence of mythology and superstition, the only materials for poetry and romance, the most authentic illustrations of political philosophy and moral science, and the most stirring and affecting topics of eloquence. No people can possibly be barbarous, or unintellectual, who receive from their ancestors, as a continually accumulating inheritance, a knowledge of the men and events of their own lengthening annals.

Beside the interesting associations thus connected with local and territorial objects, enjoying the notice, awakening the reflections, and expanding the minds of the people, a high moral influence will, at the same time, be brought to bear upon their characters. They will spend their daily lives in scenes which will speak to them, even with more powerful persuasion than from living lips, the language of encouragement and of admonition, inspiring them with enthusiasm for virtue, with horror for crime, and with a true love of glory. He, whose fancy delights to call up the images of his ancestors, feels that he is not merely living in the presence of his contemporaries, but that he is surrounded, at every step, by a continually thickening cloud of witnesses, gathered from every generation of his honored fore-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fathers. But this is not all. He is constantly reminded that the same embalming genius, which thus preserves the memory of his ancestors, may also bear down his own name, either in honor or in shame, according to his character and his deeds, to an indefinite posterity. It is obvious that a regard for posthumous fame, that noble principle of conduct, which, whatever may be said of it by cold and heartless logicians, is sanctioned and vindicated by nature, and nature's author, and in point of fact, has presented the most grand and beneficial achievements of human virtue and power, must perish, for want of aliment, in a community where the living generation is ignorant of the past, and takes no measures to be remembered by the future.

Happily for us, and for our descendants, as we have already remarked, the spirit of emulation is fairly awakened, and actively at work among us. Our literature is already prematurely rich, and is daily becoming more so, in the historical department. In our last number, we congratulated the American public, and the friends of learning generally, upon the appearance, in Mr. Bancroft's History of the United States, of a work which promises, if continued as commenced, to take rank with the highest models of philosophical history. In that which may, in one sense, be considered the humbler, but cannot justly be regarded the less important, branch of historical literature designated as Annals, we have long been particularly favored. In the elaborately and carefully executed work of Rev. Dr. Holmes, we have a book which may be relied upon with the utmost confidence, and which, for accuracy of statement, clearness of arrangement, and neatness of diction, is generally regarded as a standard in the class to which it belongs. Under the head of biography we refer with satisfaction to the labors of Belknap, Eliot, and Allen. In this class we possess some works which would adorn the literature of any country, such as Marshall's Life of Washington, President Kirkland's Life of Fisher Ames, Tudor's Life of Otis, President Quincy's and Mr. Jay's lives of their illustrious fathers, Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, and, not to mention others, Mr. Sparks's invaluable publications of this description.

The abundance of this class of productions, and the very decided interest and approbation with which they have been received by the reading community, had almost led us to form the conclusion that they were destined to supplant, and prevent the appearance in future, of any works aiming to occupy the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

higher department already alluded to. Our minds had almost settled down in the conviction, that we were never to expect any general, classical, and philosophical history of the United States, but that instead of it, our history would be written in parts, and piecemeal, as it were; that, for instance, the annals of our revolutionary war would be recorded in such publications, as Washington's Letters, and the pages and biographies of him and his various associates in the military and civil service might supply; and that the public taste would be better gratified by exploring severally such personal memoirs, and particular narratives, than by any comprehensive and general history that might be written. As this belief gradually forced itself upon our minds, we had endeavored to become reconciled to it, when the appearance of Mr. Bancroft's first volume, and the universal applause with which it was greeted, satisfied us that our conclusion was premature, and our regrets uncalled for. We may now rest assured that our historical literature will not be defective in any of its important departments, but that, while the publication of private memoirs, and personal narratives promises to afford us the delightful satisfaction of becoming directly acquainted with the characters and events of previous generations in their minutest particulars, we shall also be conducted to that lofty point of observation, where individuals and particulars cease to be discernible; and where the great drama of our country's progress is seen only in the operation of the mighty causes that have determined its action, and the development of the more important events which have successively occupied its scenes.

In addition to comprehensive histories, annals, biographies, and memoirs, there are the important, and in some instances already voluminous publications of Historical Societies; and also, what perhaps is contributing more than any other cause to enrich this branch of our literature, the discourses and addresses drawn out by the recurrence of centennial and other anniversary occasions. In these productions, the exactness of the annalist, the minuteness and poignancy of the biographer, and the broad speculations of the philosophical historian, are all united under the charms of rhetorical diction, and made to bear upon the heart by the powers of eloquence, gathering never-failing and inexhaustible strength from the sources of local associations and national pride. As specimens of this class of productions, which, by the way, seem to be peculiar to our own country, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

splendid and noble orations which have been pronounced, by our most eminent scholars, jurists and statesmen, at Plymouth, Faneuil Hall, Salem, Charlestown, Concord, Bunker Hill, Cambridge and Ipswich. Such occasions have drawn out the highest abilities of the country in every quarter. The value and excellence of the productions, that have thus been added to the national literature, will be sufficiently indicated by mentioning Verplanck's Discourse before the New York Historical Society, Biddle's Discourse on Jefferson before the Philosophical Society, the Eulogies on Adams and Jefferson, pronounced by John Sergeant and William Wirt, at Philadelphia and Washington, and Mr. Binney's admirable Eulogium on Chief Justice Tilghman.

The work before us belongs to a still different form of historical literature. This form, although of recent origin, has already been employed to a considerable extent, both in England and America; and is fully entitled to the credit of being one of the most useful and elegant in which the materials of history can be collected and preserved, and the taste for such studies gratified. The design is to present, in the most chaste and classical style of composition, and with all possible beauty of mechanical execution, an accurate and authentic account of the lives and characters of those persons who have distinguished themselves in the public service, or in any way contributed to promote the national glory. The biographical sketches are brief and condensed, and each is accompanied by the most exact and best executed portrait that can be procured. So that, while it preserves the memory of the great and good of this and previous generations, and perpetuates their living images, at the same time it exhibits a specimen of the highest point of excellence to which the arts of painting, engraving, typography, and paper-making are carried in the country.

But the finished elegance of the Portrait Gallery does not constitute its only, nor its highest claim to public patronage. In an historical point of view, it deserves to be regarded as a work of very great value. A general history of a large country must always, as has been before intimated, cover so wide a surface as to forbid such a degree of particularity, as is necessary in order to give to it one of the principal charms that belong to that department of writing. Individual characters, and single incidents must be passed over in silence, or but slightly noticed. The course of occurrences must be related only in their most promi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nent stages, and can be explained no farther than by referring to their leading causes, and discussing the general principles that cover them. While this is necessary in order to give to a work, which aims to occupy the highest department of history, its peculiar excellence, it deprives it, at the same time, of much of the interest and value that would attach to a more particular and detailed narrative. Every general history, considered as a relation of the actual course of events, from the nature of the case, must be defective and meagre. This is an inevitable result; for if it attempted to narrate minutely all the facts that belonged to the topics of which it treated, there would be no room left for those reflections, and philosophical inductions, which constitute the highest attributes of historical composition.

If any one wish to ascertain and estimate the correctness of these remarks, let him take, as an experiment, Hume's History of England, and examine attentively the account which that elegant and much admired historian gives of any particular period in English annals, — that of the civil wars at the time of the commonwealth, for instance, — then let him engage in a more particular study of the period, scrutinize the characters, and trace the career of the men who figured in it, review the whole course of events, as they connected themselves, as cause and effect, before and after, on the right hand and on the left, and explore them thoroughly and patiently in those original sources, from which ultimately all writers must derive their information. When this shall have been done, it will be seen how much that is interesting, affecting, instructive, and romantic is necessarily omitted by the historian, whose plan embraces an entire nation, over its whole surface, and throughout all its periods and ages.

These omissions and deficiencies must be supplied by works of a different description. Brief biographies of particular characters are well adapted to answer this end. They constitute the complement of history. When the great events and revolutions, which are the prominent points in the career of a nation, have been suitably represented and commemorated, the memoirs of individuals who acted conspicuously in them, if properly executed, will rescue all that remains, worthy of notice, from oblivion, and the whole work will be adequately accomplished. But besides this view of the importance of such works as the Portrait Gallery, in gathering up all that remains, so that nothing be lost, the publication of the personal memoirs of distinguished men, now on the stage of life, or who have recently

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

left it, is of immense value, as preparing the materials for the future historian. If the passing generation is faithful to its trust in this respect, there will be no difficulty at any future day in tracing the course of events while it occupied the scene, or in describing the agents whose influence controlled and directed its progress.

It is because we attach such a very high value to every thing that tends to promote the prevalence of historical literature in this country, that we have indulged in these remarks. If adequate encouragement is now extended to those whose talent and inclination lead them to such investigations, it is not too late to bring to light, and place beyond the reach of forgetfulness, all that is worthy of record. Our whole history may be clearly illustrated. All fable, and mystery, and doubt may be dispelled from our annals, and it may thus be our privilege, to do what no other nation has yet been able to do, to trace our course from the point where we now stand, without confusion or difficulty, back to the very first day of our history. The importance of that history stimulates and exhorts us to accomplish this object, if we can. From some of its chapters the world has already received such instructions, as have enabled the nations of Europe to discover the path that leads to their own social and political improvement. And if we would guide them to the highest attainment of the blessings of liberty and virtue, we must display before them our whole history, from this our present period of freedom, power, and independence, down to the moment when the Mayflower cast anchor in the harbor of Plymouth.

But we must bring these remarks to a close, and confine ourselves to what in reality was the sole object of this article, to recommend to the public patronage the splendid and valuable work now before us. The National Portrait Gallery is conducted by Messrs. Herring of New York, and Longacre of Philadelphia, under the superintendence of the American Academy of Fine Arts. It is published in monthly parts, each of which contains two or more memoirs of distinguished persons, accompanied in all cases by the most admirable engraved portraits. Its execution, as has before been remarked, is in every particular the best and most finished which the state of the arts in America will permit. It is a work which would equally adorn the library or embellish the parlor; and considering the elegance of its form, can be obtained on very reasonable terms. But the fairest way to convey an idea

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of its value, without reference to any other point than the character of its contents, is to repeat the names of the subjects of the first volume. They are the following, — George Washington, Martha Washington, Charles Carroll, Generals Green, Wayne, Moultrie and Putnam, Timothy Pickering, Governors Shirley and Ogden, Chief Justice Marshall, Chief Justice Shippen, Brigadier General Jonathan Williams, Vice President Tompkins, Henry Clay, President Jackson, Daniel Webster, William Wirt, Lewis Cass, Commodore Macdonough, Major General Macomb, Joel R. Poinsett, Josiah S. Johnston, Edward Livingston, Louis McLane, Bishop White, Timothy Dwight, Joel Barlow, Colonel John Trumbull, Gilbert Charles Stuart, Samuel Latham Mitchell, Theodoric Romeyn Beck, Washington Irving, Catharine M. Sedgwick, and James Fennimore Cooper.

We understand that the enterprising conductors of this work are resolved to render it truly, as well as nominally, a *National* Portrait Gallery. It is their purpose to include every distinguished name, without reference to the section of the country which it adorns, the political or religious denominations under which it is classed, or the period during which it shone. As yet, most of the memoirs have been derived from the Middle States, but either in person, or by suitable agents, the conductors are making arrangements to procure the best executed portraits and biographies of distinguished men from the East, and South, and West. Mr. Herring has himself copied the paintings of Hancock, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, Jr., and the other eminent New England revolutionary patriots, having visited Boston and Cambridge for that purpose, and it is of national importance that every facility be afforded him, and his cöoperators, in procuring the requisite materials for rendering the work complete, according to its design, so that by passing through it, the American patriot and scholar may behold in succession, as in one extended gallery, the images and the history of all who have contributed to shed light or glory on his country.

It is with lively satisfaction that we hear from the conductors, as they have expressed themselves in the address attached to their twelfth number, that their enterprise has received "a cordial and cheering support from their countrymen," and that their own experience proves, that "the American people now display a becoming solicitude for the preservation of the relics of their own glory." We rejoice that so much success has attended them,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in their praiseworthy exertions to enlarge the materials of our historical literature, to stimulate the progress of the most elegant and useful arts, and to secure the national honor from oblivion, and can only say, in conclusion, that we sincerely hope that their success may be continued and increased, — and that their labors may be rewarded by a generous, enlightened, and effectual patronage in every quarter of the country, and by all classes of their countrymen.

ART. VI. — *Italy.*

Italy: with Sketches of Spain and Portugal. By the AUTHOR of VATHEK. 2 Vols. Philadelphia, 1834.

THERE are countries of the globe which possess a permanent and peculiar interest in human estimation; an interest proportioned in each individual, to his intelligence, culture and philanthropy. They are those where the most momentous historical events occurred, and civilization first dawned; and of which the past associations and present influences are, consequently, in a high degree exciting. The history of these lands affords one of our most attractive sources of philosophical truth, as the reminiscences they induce excite poetical sentiment, and hence, we very naturally regard a visit to them as an event singularly interesting, not to say morally important.

And yet personal impressions, on such occasions, are confessedly dependent upon circumstances which are, for the most part, uncontrollable. There are, however, certain positive methods, the adoption of which will not, indeed, bring about a complete agreement in the notions and sentiments of travellers, but will tend to a much more useful purpose, — that of inducing a satisfactory result upon their own minds. Among these is a sense of the true nature of the comprehensive object they are about to contemplate, — a patient determination to bestow a degree of time and study in a measure corresponding with the subject, a preparedness for disappointment, and an unyielding spirit of candor. Such a state of mind will especially influence happily the experience of the trans-atlantic sojourner in Italy, since it may not be denied that many things exist there, to qualify the enjoyment of the enthusiastic expectant, who has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turned the eye of his imagination thither through the long and magnifying space which divides our continent from the old world.

The invalid discovers that even those genial regions are not exempt from wintry influences, the ardent observer must grieve to find the most interesting ruins contiguous to, and even invaded by the scenes of ordinary life, and the more conventional characteristics of the country fast disappearing before the ever increasing encroachments of the stranger multitude, while the benevolent are constantly pained by the sight of distress which they cannot alleviate. Yet, perhaps, these very drawbacks tend to direct attention more completely to the many existing sources of satisfaction, and they certainly are not without a moral benefit. Never does the paramount importance of the innate habit and the comparative worthlessness of the outward scene become so self-evident, as when we thus *feel* the superiority of anticipation to enjoyment. And we know not, until standing by the spots renowned as the scenes of mighty exploits, denuded of the exhaustless drapery of fancy, that it is the acts themselves, with all their beautiful philosophy, which alone have hallowed these portions of earth.

But frequent and favorable observation *will* develope the legitimate influences of Italy, and render us less and less sensible to untoward or disagreeable circumstances. Antiquity will become, in our view, more sacred, art will awaken a deeper interest, society will discover new charms, and when we start upon our homeward pilgrimage, we shall perceive, with a sensation of wonder, the strength of the chain which binds us to the land, and realize the subtle power of the agencies which have so silently weaved it.

The impressions of an individual mind, noted during a considerable interval of time, will therefore possess more of this deliberate and eventual character. In imparting them, it seems unwise, at least, to run into the common error of portraying minutely the details of statues, paintings and edifices,—descriptions, which often have the effect of exciting without satisfying curiosity; while graphic delineations of manners and customs have been too frequently and faithfully drawn to be attempted in the present instance. The aim will rather be to lead from particular descriptions, to the moral contemplation of such general subjects, as are prominently indicative of the scenes and intellectual influences of Italy.

In pursuance of this design we propose to speak, in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

simple manner of the journalist, of that city, where are combined the greatest variety of the most interesting objects; and from their contemplation proceed to notice some facts and influences common to the whole country.

It was in the light of a clear atmosphere that we stood upon the summit of the capitol, and thoughtfully gazed forth upon the city with its mountain-wall circling broadly in the distance. From so commanding a position, we were enabled to expand the faint idea into a sensible conception of the site of ancient Rome, and the relative localities and original aspect of her scattered and dimly defined remains.

Directly beneath us stood a massive form, whose sculptured and inscribed surface is uniformly tinged with the melancholy hue imparted by the earth which so recently encrusted it, and deepened by the lapse of ages. And yet, beneath that arch have earth's most splendid pageants passed; eyes bedewed with the rich tears of grateful exultation have dwelt upon its now defaced splendor; its broad foundations, resting heavily in their sunken bed, have trembled beneath the proud tread of the triumphing, and its concave rung with the inspiring shout of a Roman greeting. It was the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus.

Immediately beside it, in mournful companionship, rise three mutilated columns, — all that exists of the noble tribute of gratitude raised by Augustus to the god of thunder, when he returned unscathed from the rush of his awful shaft. A slower but not less sure agency has not passed negligently by the monument, and the naked triumvirate, clustered, as if in the 'fellowship of grief,' but feebly represent the living sentiment which gave them birth. The same number of these erect and solitary relics, lifting their burdenless capitals in air, furnish the commencement of an outline which observation may continue and imagination embody of the temple of Jupiter Stator. Cold chroniclers of thrilling times are they, senseless spectators of what would kindle even the unenthusiastic, which else we might almost envy. It seems as if something of pride yet lingered about these decayed remnants of a once glorious company. They bore the vaulted roof, which echoed the most eloquent outpourings of moral indignation; they stood around, silent and stern, when about them were the not less inflexible forms of the Roman soldiery and the sudden gathering of her alarmed citizens, and within, the deliberate and imposing presence of the accuser, and the pale countenance and hurried glances of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accused,— for it was here that Cicero condemned Catiline. The temples of Concord and of Peace,— the one boasting eight remaining columns, and the other three fragmentary arches, next attracted attention and suggested similar reminiscences.

But soon we were obliged to quit a scene so absorbing in its suggestive influences, to wander among the dense ranges of modern buildings and descry, here and there, a few pillars or other remains of what once stood forth contributing their now isolated symmetry to the formation of a beautiful and perfect whole. The arches of Titus, Constantine and Janus respectively occupied and interested us,— particularly the former, from the sacred vessels and symbols of the Jewish temple, exhibited in basso relievo upon its interior surface; the niches of the latter are dispossessed of the statues which once adorned them, the bronze fastenings which connected the stones are gone, and broad gaps mark the violence with which they were extricated. In the vicinity, we attentively perused the little square arch erected by the jewellers of the Forum to Septimius and his wife, and passing on, observed the pillars and site of the temples of Vesta and Fortune transformed into churches.

When we found ourselves near the wonderful old aqueducts contiguous to the walls, we were long amused with the peculiarities and impressed with the antiquated features of these strange and extensive remains. From some elevated positions, we gained a view of the neighboring mountains, lifting their undulating forms beneath the vapory masses of the dim atmosphere, and reflecting in faint yet rich tints, the few rays of sunshine which struggled through the leaden clouds. We had seen no general view more congenial with the ruins or more exciting to the associations of Rome.

On another occasion we left the city by the Appian Way, and were mindful of the circumstance of St. Paul's having entered by the identical road. After a considerable walk we reached the tomb of the Scipios, situated by the road-side, and the entrance not distinguishable from other similar gateways, except by the inscription. Entering this, we soon came to the vault, secured merely with loose wooden doors and having no distinctive beauty. With a guide and tapers we explored the dark and chilly avenues of this tomb, pausing here and there to con the many inscriptions which exist upon the walls. Two of the sarcophagi are in the Vatican, but one or two yet remain. We soon hastened from this damp and melancholy sepulchre, whose earthly floor was worn by the feet of many curious pilgrims, like

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ourselves, and pondering upon the contrast between the men who once reposed there, their probable anticipations of their country and the present, we extended our walk and penetrated far into the labyrinthine catacombs beneath the church of St. Sebastian.

At length we arrived at the noble square with its sweeping colonnade and old obelisk, which are about St. Peter's. Having entered that edifice and immediately passing through a side door, we commenced ascending an inclined plane which winds round, is bricked, and continues for a long distance until it brings us out upon the roof. This wide space, with its several cupolas, has been aptly compared to a small village. We soon entered the first and second interior gallery of the dome, and thence looked down from an immense height upon the variegated marble floor, or immediately around upon the coarse mosaic figures. Still ascending, we reached the lantern, and obtained a most comprehensive view, embracing the city, the *campagna*, the distant snow-covered mountains, with a glimpse of the Mediterranean, and having stood in the copper ball which surmounts the whole building, we descended.*

At one visit to St. Peter's, the several scenes presented most effectually aided us in realizing the vastness of the building. Two of the chapels were filled with children receiving Sabbath instruction, whose singing resounded pleasingly through the expanse. In one corner, some lads, seemingly designed for the priesthood, were loudly engaged in a dialogue, the purport of which was an exposition of the church ceremonies; these were eagerly listened to by a surrounding crowd. Around the circular and illuminated railing, which is about the descent to the tomb of the great apostle, kneeled many female figures, and another knot were clustered beneath his bronze image, and fervently kissing the worn foot; while, scattered upon the far spreading pavement, and bending at the numerous shrines, were many devotees apparently absorbed in prayer. The confession boxes, too, were unusually occupied, and the whole area thickly studded with the figures of those whom curiosity or devotion

* The necessity of attempting a description of this truly indescribable building is most happily superseded by the unrivalled paintings of Panini, recently purchased by the Boston Athenæum. Let any one intently gaze upon the delineation of the interior of St. Peter's, and imagine the space which lies unrevealed in perspective, and he will obtain a more definite idea than any words can convey.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had brought thither. And yet these numerous and variously occupied human beings seemed, in no degree, to lessen the apparent space enclosed by those immense walls and that exalted dome, but rather to increase the impressiveness of the whole. We gratefully remarked the peculiar mildness and genial warmth of the atmosphere. It is even pretended by some of the inhabitants, that this phenomenon may be ascribed to the heat, which the dense walls acquire during summer, — a heat so great and so well retained as to continue partially latent, and be evolved during the few weeks when comparative coolness prevails. Many circumstances, however, contribute to the production of so pleasing an effect, particularly the admirable exposure of the building to the full influence of the sun, which beams through one or another of its many windows, during nearly the whole day, while the arrangement of the entrances almost precludes the admission of the external air.

But it was our special delight to visit St. Peter's, not critically to examine, but to yield ourselves freely to its sublimity and beauty. Sometimes we would rest in front of the monument to the last of the Stuarts, to sympathize in the mournful expression of its basso relievo angels of death, extinguishing, as if in sadness, the torch of life; or pause in admiration of the lions of Canova surmounting the tomb of Pope Clement XIII.

As the setting sun shone gorgeously through the glory, over the main altar, and lingered upon the gilded cornices of the wall, it was mysteriously exciting to gaze on one of the splendid mosaic copies of the most eminent originals; for instance, that of Thomas satisfying his doubts. The perfect serenity of our Saviour's countenance, the determined inspection of the incredulous apostle, and, above all, the sad yet mild and affectionate expression of John, riveted our gaze and touched our sensibilities. We could almost believe that we saw a tremulous play of the muscles, or living softness of the features, as they were thus revealed in the twilight.

It was surpassingly interesting to roam through the quiet and rich precincts of this magnificent edifice, with an elevating sense of its excellence as a place of religious enjoyment. There is a freedom, a nobleness, a grandeur about St. Peter's, allied to intellect and sentiment in their higher manifestations. Within no structure, perhaps, does the human form dwindle to greater apparent insignificance, but in few spots does man yield more spontaneously and legitimately to a sense of his capacity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for excellence. The idea that the building, which is filling and delighting his spirit, was planned by the intellect and reared by the labor of his species, and the thought of that Being to whose praises it is devoted,—all this suggests itself with the view and its enjoyment.

Indeed, familiarity with the splendid temples of worship for which Italy is remarkable, rather augments than diminishes the spontaneous admiration which a first inspection of them excites; or rather the primary emotions of pleasure melt into a calm sentiment of satisfaction, far more favorable to a discriminating view and just impression. The still but most efficient teachings of those three happy influences, painting, sculpture and architecture, seem here combined for the most felicitous ends. We could not but often think of it as one of those consoling and redeeming things, which modify all the evil in the world, that there were places dedicated to catholicism, but open to all and at all times;—places for reflection, devotion and thought, where one can wander contemplatively, the painted windows imparting a mellow light in which the pictured and sculptured forms seemed living things, and the notes of the chanters falling in reverberated echoes upon the ear, and worship after his own heart, or muse holily till the fire burns.

It was on a day marked by that deep azure, that seemingly penetrable density of the sky, so often celebrated by poets as the most enchanting natural feature of southern Italy, that we were early on our way to the Esquiline hill. Upon its summit stands in comparative solitude, the church of St. Pietro in Vinculi, built to contain the chains of the great apostle whose name it bears. The effect, ever derivable from simplicity, is signally exemplified upon entering this chaste building; for its interior architecture opens at once upon the vision, and in its simple grandeur imparts a far more delightful impression, than is often obtained from more extensive and gorgeous constructions. The form of the Basilica is here admirably preserved, the arched roof being supported by two rows of beautiful columns, and the whole space unbroken by any intermediate arches. These columns, as well as the pavement of the sacristy, were originally obtained from the baths of Titus; the former are remarkably impregnated with sulphate of lime, so as to emit a sulphurous odor when slightly rubbed. Behind the altar is a richly wrought marble chair, probably a consular seat, obtained from the same ruins; the idea that Cicero might once have occupied it, occurred

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to us, and increased the interest with which we viewed so pleasing and authentic a Roman relic. Most of the pictures and frescos are illustrative of St. Peter's imprisonment and angelic enfranchisement; and within two brazen and embossed doors, are preserved the sacred fetters which are exposed to view only once a year.

But the grand attraction which had drawn us to this church was a renowned work of art, — the statue of Moses by Michael Angelo. This colossal figure at once evinces the workmanship of a peculiar genius, the design differing wholly from what is familiar in statuary. There is a muscular power, a grandeur of outline, which sufficiently indicate the author. Indignation and awful energy are distinctly discernible in the heavy frown and stern expression of God's chosen messenger to a guilty and erring people.

The Capuchin convent, — an example of another class of churches, imparts a very tolerable idea of the dreariness and sternness of a genuine monastic retreat. The lay brother who conducted us looked wonderfully thriving, and was withal surprisingly affable for an old denizen of the damp and gloomy apartments which he so complacently displayed. The church, though by no means magnificent, contains two frescos of great interest: — one representing the archangel Michael triumphing over Satan, whose dark brawny form seems completely subdued beneath the light foot of his beautiful conqueror; the other, a rough representation of St. Peter walking on the waves, — one of the most ancient examples of this species of painting. Indeed this convent is many centuries old, and the very hue and primitive material of the Capuchin garb comports admirably with the antique appearance of the whole building and its contents. But the greatest peculiarity is the cemetery beneath. A number of arches extend some distance, against the walls of which are piled an immense number of the bones of the deceased Capuchins. In spaces left about mid-way, are stretched skeletons, clad in the habit of the order, and others stand in various parts of the awful repository, while the ground, composed of "holy earth," transported at great expense from Jerusalem, is marked as the last resting-place of the later dead. The very lamps which hang from the walls are composed of bones, and the same material, distributed most fantastically, furnishes meet accompanying ornaments. Perhaps this kind of burial, if such it may be called, is one of the rarest in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

practice by moderns. The effect by torch-light, when an interment takes place, must be impressive in the extreme; though with the broad light of day shining through the windows, the scene seemed more hideous than morally striking; nor can one easily feel that the intended honor is conferred upon the unbroken skeletons, by permitting them to stand holding a card, upon which is inscribed the name and age of the deceased, like guardians of the mournful piles around them, in which are merged the remains of their less distinguished brethren.

We crossed the Tiber in a broad barge, and during the few moments which intervened ere our walk re-commenced, we were naturally led to contrast the turbid waters and the dim earth around us, with the same scene, in its transcendant aspect, as existing in the familiar picture of our fancy. The one was the plain appearance of neglected and perhaps degenerate nature; the other impressions derived from nature's glowing commentator, the poet. Passing by a retired path through the fields, we soon came in view of a circular fortress, (the Castle of St. Angelo,) now chiefly used as a prison, but originally the tomb of Hadrian. And, certainly, when its solid proportions were decked with the numerous statuary ornaments which once adorned them, it must have formed a glorious final resting-place for a Roman. There is a striking and melancholy inconsistency observable in this, as in many instances, in the modern appropriation of ancient monuments. So much more honorable is it to the general, or at least to the better sentiment of mankind, to leave unmarred the few remnants of a nation's greatness, when not one of her children exists. There is surely a kind of sacrilege in disturbing works consecrated to the dead, for purposes of selfish pride or narrow utility. The beauty, the interest, the blessed inspiration which so often hallow these ruins, are thus invaded, while no commensurate advantage is obtained. Have not as many smiles of ridicule or sneers of reproach, as pious feelings, been awakened, by the view of the apostle's figures surmounting the triumphal pillars of Aurelius and Trajan? And who can behold, without regret, the mausoleum of the mighty dead transformed into a tomb for the most wretched of the living?

We ascended a long flight of steps, entered a square and corridor, and were soon in the Museum of the Vatican. It were vain to endeavor to describe what an impression of the richness of art

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is inspired by the first general inspection of this vast collection of her redeemed trophies; and far more to paint the vivid and elevating conception of her power which dawns, brightens, and finally glows in the bosom, as face after face of thrilling interest, figure after figure of embodied nature, and gem after gem of exquisite material or workmanship attracts the admiring eye; all unanimated by one spiritual principle, and yet so legitimately the offspring of the highest, and so perfectly significant, as to awaken wonder, enkindle delight, and finally win love. We devoted a season to the inspection and admiration of the time-worn frescos, which exist upon the walls of the Camere of Raphael. Constantine's victory is, indeed, a splendid battle-piece. But of all the figures, none struck us as grander than the group representing the miraculous defeat of the ravager of the temple, struck down by a cavalier, and two angels, at the prayer of the priest. Most of the countenances here depicted are separate and noble studies. All the frescos were partially designed and executed by Raphael. They present a worthy but melancholy monument to his genius, impaired, as they are by age, and marred by his untimely death. Yet artists of the present day are continually studying these dim, though most admirable remains, and find in their contemplation, the happiest aids and incitements. Notwithstanding this speaking testimony to departed excellence, as well as that which b amed in the admiring looks of the gazers around, there was something of sadness in the very air of rooms that bore the name, and shone with the embodied talent of the beloved and early dead, which forced itself irresistibly upon the mind, and tinged with mournfulness the gratified thoughts.

But it is when we stand for the first time in the presence of that being, if aught destitute of sensation deserve the name, it is when the eye first rests, and the heart first fastens with instinctive eagerness upon the Apollo Belvidere, that we feel the triumph of human art. And there springs up a rich sentiment of satisfaction, not only that the poetical in native feeling, the pure in taste, and the exalted in thought are conscious of unwonted gratification, but because we rejoice in the spiritual nobility of our common nature, we glory in the thought that the senseless marble radiates the beautiful and deep expressiveness of intellectual life at the call of human genius, and we are soothed by the testimony thus afforded to the im-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mortality of what we most love in ourselves and kind, for we feel that such followers of nature are allied to its author, and may humbly, but legitimately aspire to yet higher teachings than are evolved from the physical universe.

We entered, on a fine clear day, the large enclosed tract called the Gardens of Sallust, being the site of that beautiful historian's villa and grounds. There are a few ill-defined ruins here situated, supposed to be those of a temple dedicated to Venus Erycina, and of the mansion, or its adjuncts. The general aspect presented during our wanderings through this extensive enclosure, was more in accordance with the idea previously formed of the country than any before obtained. The fertility of the grounds, green with varied shrubbery and occasionally beautified with field-flowers, and thickly planted with vegetables, among which groups of laborers were actively engaged, afforded remarkable evidence of the actual mildness of the climate, while occasional glimpses of an old aqueduct, or wall, gave to the scene the surpassing charm of antiquity. Constant blasts of cold wind, in which the dry reeds rattled sullenly, and the snow-capt Apennines in the distance were, however, sufficiently indicative of the season. The free air and commanding situation of this domain are well adapted to foster that concise and clear energy, which so highly distinguishes Sallust. If this was the favorite retreat to which he retired to compose his history, it is not surprising that he found in the situation and his employment greater satisfaction than could be gleaned from the enslaving luxury of the city, which lies so attractively at the foot of his paternal mount. It was a pleasant thought, that this very spot is that which beguiled his early ambition from the hazardous efforts of a political arena, to the quiet and dignified employment of an elegant historian. And in contemplating the result of this author's wise choice, and comparing his with the lives of many of his equally gifted countrymen, a new proof is afforded of the surpassing excellence of well-directed literary labor. More peaceful and elevated passes the existence, and more certain and purely succeeds the renown of the useful and excellent writer, than that of the most successful aspirant for immediate popularity. There is, too, a beautiful completeness in the works and fame of Sallust, such as seldom marks the memory or the labors of modern writers. Confining himself to one sphere, and intent upon comparatively few subjects, he shone prëeminently in the one, and threw

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over the other a light and vigor of delineation, which render his works not only universally interesting, as just and vivid chronicles, but as most attractive illustrations of the capacities of his native language.

We proceeded at a similar season forth from the city, by the spacious and beautiful entrance of the Piazza del Popoli, towards the Ponte Molle. When we reached this celebrated bridge, the beauty of the adjacent country, and distant scenery, as well as the associations of the spot, detained us in long and delightful contemplation. On the one side rises Monte Mario, crowned with a verdant line of lofty cypresses, and on the other, far away, stand the hoary Apennine hills, while beneath runs the swift and turbid Tiber. The picturesque, arched, and heavy bridge on which we stood, still retaining portions of its ancient material, and the pervading Sabbath stillness, gave vividness and scope to the grand scene of action, which memory and imagination conjured up and arrayed upon its massive surface, and along the broken banks of the river. But, happily, in viewing the scene of Constantine's victory and miraculous vision, we are not left to unaided fancy in an attempt to renew the view preserved in history. We have but to recall the almost living delineation of Raphael, to arrive at a strong conception of what could otherwise be but vaguely and variously fancied. It is on such occasions, that we learn to recognise one, among our many obligations, to genius and art. Gazing, after the lapse of centuries, upon the renowned battle ground where tyranny received a signal overthrow, from a Christian warrior, eminent for victory, and finding nought but the altered aspect of nature and a few decayed relics of art, we can yet rehearse the history and the song, and ponder the picture till they realize the time-buried events of antiquity.

It was one of those days when a pensive stillness pervades nature; the sky overclouded, yet threatening no rain, the sun peering dimly forth, and a quiet, almost sad in its lifelessness, brooding over the sullen fields and declining foliage; a day, in short, the melancholy language of which brings something of pleasure to the man of anxious temperament, and to whose meditative influences even the practised worldling not unwillingly yields himself; a day, on which the student instinctively turns from his book to ponder, the active denizen of the busy or gay world is unwontedly and unwittingly thoughtful, and many a day-dreamer or philosophical sports-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man, like old Walton, wanders longer through the fields and indulges in deeper imaginings and more protracted reveries. Such a season was peculiarly adapted to the purpose for which we had assigned it, — a visit to the tomb of Cecilia Metella. The very thought of it brings to mind Childe Harold's characteristic description: —

"There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone,
And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity, where wave
The green leaves over all by time o'erthrown; —
What was this tower of strength? Within its cave
What treasures lie so lock'd, so hid? — A woman's grave.

This celebrated ruin, one of the most satisfactory as regards its authenticity and preservation, among all the Roman antiquities, is situated about a league from the centre of the city upon the Via Appia. Its circular form and remarkably dense walls, composed on the exterior of marble, now partially decomposed, proclaim its pristine magnificence. The obscurity which veils the history and character of her whose ashes it once contained, renders it, to one at all given to vague imaginings, more eloquent than if it were the concomitant of a most interesting and elaborate chronicle. The inscription possesses the same sublime simplicity, which is one of the noblest indications of ancient Roman greatness, discoverable in her monumental remains. As if, in announcing the tomb to be that of Cecilia, wife of Crassus, and daughter of Metellus, enough was expressed to convey every adequate impression to the beholder of whatever age or country! The near kinswoman of two Roman citizens; — this one fact was deemed a distinct indication to posterity of the actual nobility of the entombed, while one glance at the splendid sepulchre would convey ample testimony to her worth and loss. But even we of later times, who can smile at, while we admire such perfect confidence in the simple greatness of citizenship and individual character, and who can gaze with the coldness of curiosity upon such a relic, even we can scarcely fancy any record capable of exciting such awakening sentiment. It comports, in its brevity, with the great lesson it teaches, — the rapid flight and levelling influence of time, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

designating a double ruin, it affords a degree of knowledge which, if extended, would but carry out and define where vagueness is desirable. For free scope is thus given to a species of conjecture, which it is mournfully pleasing to indulge. Standing by the massive remains of such a mausoleum, of which we can only affirm that it was reared to the memory of a Roman wife and daughter, — what trait of energetic beauty, of affectionate devotion, of moral courage, which enters into the *beau-ideal* of the female character, may we not confidently ascribe to this? What a life of secluded, yet elevated virtue, what a death of solemn dignity might not have been hers! How large a part might she have taken in refining, ay, and nerving the spirit of husband and child and brother, — in producing that obsolete and wonderful being — a Roman citizen! And if aught of such fancies is correct, how like her earthly destiny to that of innumerable of her sex, who live in the exercise of thoughts and sentiments, which, if developed through more conspicuous channels, would be productive of deathless renown; but whose self-sacrificing ministrations, though immeasurably influential, are as unseen as those of a guardian angel, while the memory of their authors is only embalmed in Heaven, or darkly transmitted, like that of Cecilia Metella, by the simple record of their names and kindred, upon the monument which conscientious affection has reared.

Of all impressions from antiquity, derived from the ruins at Rome, none is more vivid and lasting than that inspired by the Coliseum, when viewed under circumstances best calculated for effect. Such are the quiet and mystery, the shadowy aspect and mild illumination of moonlight. Availing ourselves of a season like this, it was with something of awe that we approached to partake of a pleasure, in its very nature melancholy, yet in the highest degree attractive to the imagination, and calculated to awaken many of the deepest sentiments, especially those by which the fellow-feeling of our race is nurtured and sustained. And as the scene, in all its actual beauty, environed by associations more impressive than its past magnificence, and reposing in a light more tender than gleamed from the eager eyes, which once shone out from its now dim arches, broke upon our sight, we seemed to have come forth to hold communion, — not with the material form, but with the very spirit of antiquity. There, its massive walls circling broadly, prëeminent in lingering pride, stands the Coliseum. As the monarch of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ruins, its dark outline seems defined with most commanding prominence, while surrounding objects are lost or blended in shade. Its many arched recesses are rendered still more obscure by the veil of shadow, or partially revealed in the congenial light. Through some of them the silent stars may be seen at their far-off vigils in the heavens, and again a fragment, which the hand of time has spared, abruptly bars the view. Over some, the long grass, that sad frieze which antiquity ever attaches to the architecture of man, hangs motionless, and, as a lattice, divides the falling moonbeams, or waves gently in the night breeze. But it is when standing beneath one of those arches, and vainly scanning the length of the half illumined corridor, or looking down upon the grass grown area, marked by a single path, that a sense of the events and times of which this ruin is the monument, and its suggestions the epitaph, gradually gains upon the attention, like the home thoughts which a strain of familiar music has aroused. The gorgeous spectacle of Rome's congregated wisdom and beauty thronging the vast galleries, now lost or crumbling through age, the glitter of wealth, the pomp of power, the eagerness of curiosity and the enthusiasm of varied passions, which once rendered this a scene of unequalled pageantry, — all come at the call of memory, to contrast themselves with the same scene now, clad in the solemnity of solitude and decay.

But yet another retrospection, inducing deeper emotions, occupies the mind and throws over the scene a higher interest. What an amount of human suffering have these dark walls witnessed! Could they but speak, what a tale of horror would be unfolded! How often has man, in all his savage or his cultivated dignity, been abandoned in this wide area to the beasts of the forest, — more solitary when surrounded by his unpitying kind, than when alone with the lordly brute in his desert domain! How much of human blood has this damp earth drunk, and how often upon its clammy surface has the human form been stretched in agony or death! Nor was this the theatre of effort and woe only to the physical nature. Who can estimate the pangs of yearning affection which have wrung the departing spirit, — the feeling of utter desolation with which the barbarian has laid down his unsupported head and died in the midst of his enemies? Who can distinctly imagine the concentration of every sentiment in that of the love of existence, which has nerved the arm of the combatant, and the stern despair with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which he has at length relinquished his dearly sold life? Far less might one hope to realize the deep energy with which the martyr to his faith has here given proof of its power. There is something holy in a spot which has witnessed the voluntary sacrifice of existence to the cause of Christianity. Of beautiful and sublime, as well as terrible spectacles, has this been the scene. Where has youth seemed so pure in its loveliness, or manhood so noble in its might, or age so venerable in its majesty, as here? If, in this ruined amphitheatre, humanity has been most debased, by the despoiling hand of cruelty, where has she exhibited more of the sublimest of her energies, — the spirit of self-sacrifice? Often as this air has wafted the sigh and groans of suffering and remorse, has it not likewise borne upward the prayer of faith and the thanksgiving of joyful confidence? Though glances of ferocity and revenge have been turned, in impotent malignity, through this broad opening to the smiling sky above, how often have eyes, beaming with forgiving love, or fixed in religious fervor, looked into its blue depths, from the awful death of the Coliseum!

And yet, while the abandonment and decay of Flavian's amphitheatre plainly indicate the departure of those ideas and customs, in accordance with which it was reared, the question forcibly suggests itself to the observer of its remains, has the principle, which sustained so long an institution like this, utterly and forever departed? Have we nothing in *our* experience, resembling what seems to have originated in a deeper sentiment than caprice, and from its long continuance and popularity, has an apparent foundation in our nature? The reply to such self-interrogations is affirmative. What student of humanity, or observer of man, does not recognise the same principle operating eternally? Those who hold the system of Christianity, in its purity, hold the whole philosophy of the principle. Individual man has arrayed against him the varied force of circumstances without and passion within. Of the insidiousness, the power of these opponents, who is ignorant? And there are too, spectators, — too often as heartless, curious, and cold lookers on, as those which thronged the galleries of the Coliseum.

When the literary pilgrim, or susceptible observer, has become familiar with the aspect and suggestions of Rome's antiquities and treasures of art, he has yet another spot of hallowed earth to tread, another locality to visit, as a shrine, whose associations will wreath his spirit as with incense, till it is penetrated

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with sentiments of sympathy, sadness and love. There may be here excited less of the sublime in association, induced by the distance of the retrospect with which the stricken and lone memorials of extinct national greatness are pondered; but there is room for more home-felt emotion, and occasion for less grand and critical, but more touching comment, than the antiquity of art and the ruins of grandeur can present. This spot is indeed neglected by the antiquarian, and has been often passed by, with the greatest indifference, by the merely fashionable visitor; but who of us that loves the poetry of his native tongue, and rare specimens of human character, will not fondly and feelingly linger in the sequestered English burying-ground, at the graves of Shelley and Keats? He will there read the same lesson, which more imposing monuments had imparted, with deeper emphasis perhaps, but not in tones of more melting penetration. The romantic imagination, remarkable mental independence, and extreme sensitiveness of the former of these poets, combined, as they were, with high native and acquired powers, and associated with a fate so deeply melancholy, — give a truly poetical coloring to our recollections of him. Short and unappreciated was the life of poor Keats, and his death a martyrdom. The little left for friendship to record of him was the beautiful brilliancy of young genius, its primitive hopefulness, the susceptibility which gave effect to hireling opposition, and the gloomy flickering and extinction of that vitality, which alone connected an unsophisticated genius to an unsympathizing and uncongenial world. And what is this but a common story in the chronicles of humanity? Through the perspective and magnifying light of time, it may possess more prominently mournful features, but, wherever contemplated, it is essentially the same; the conquest of gross power, grosser taste and indiscriminate will over the casket of a gem, the conventional form of an existence, the temporary habitation of a soul. Thus has it been of old, and this is alike the history of an ancient martyr and the victim of a modern sacrifice. The intelligent sentiment which impelled and sustained, may essentially differ, but the course, the consummation is the same. The chief distinction between the suffering and final self-devotion of the unyielding in faith, whose life was laid down in an ancient amphitheatre, and that of Keats, is that the one perished, according to the customs of the age, by the hand of violence, and in the other the dormant fires of disease were renewed, and the lingering progress of decay

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speeded fatally onward. "Here lies one whose name was writ in water;" — an epitaph dictated, like this, at the very gates of death, yet bespeaks the poet; and like every poetic sentiment is replete with latent truth. That name was indeed written in water, but the pencillings of a progressive and discerning spirit could have deepened the inscription upon an adamantine surface of crystal. But what these have failed to do, pity and congeniality are ever doing; and in innumerable hearts the memory of Keats is cherished, with a love surpassing even what the efforts of his mature genius could have inspired.*

Among the odd traits observable in the Roman population, is their aversion to two luxuries, especially esteemed in more northern countries, and though somewhat matters of taste, not altogether unallied to a higher sentiment; — these are flowers and fire. The latter, during winter, is as truly physically requisite as in colder climates; but less surprise should be excited by this antipathy among a people whose idea of comfort is so widely different from our own, and to whom this cheerful influence brings with it none of the domestic associations which endear it to the denizens of bleaker localities, and the possessors of a better founded enthusiasm. The former distaste is more remarkable, when we consider the proverbial predilections of the Italians for the beautiful; and yet it is to a surprising extent true, that most are indifferent and many decidedly averse to flowers; whereas, in Florence, we were ever beset with flower girls, and the Neapolitan peasants are seldom seen without a nosegay. We have heard this peculiarity of the Romans ascribed to their very delicate sense of smell, which renders even a mild perfume quite overpowering; but it is difficult to admit a reason which is so inconsistent with their habitual toleration of far less genial odors, — particularly the unwholesome exhalations from the buried aqueducts, and infected *campagna*.

The supremacy of the pope and his cardinals, denominated the sacred college, being all but absolute, the risk incurred by such a sway renders the government extremely tenacious and jealous, so that of all culprits of whom the law takes cogni-

* Hazlitt has justly observed that Keats's "ostensible crime was, that he had been praised in the Examiner newspaper: a greater and more unpardonable offence probably was, that he was a true poet and had all the errors and beauties of a youthful genius to answer for. Mr. Gifford was as insensible to the one as he was inexorable to the other."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

zance, none are at once more frequently or less deservedly its victims than political offenders. But the chief evil, immediately resulting from this condition of things, consists in the concessions which the rulers make to the ruled, in order to maintain their authority. Many of these involve the total subversion of the very principles which government is mainly instituted to maintain. Capital crime, for example, is of all offences the least liable to retribution by the operation of law in the Roman states. And such is the sanguinary temperament of most of the people, that any severe civil check upon it would inflame opposition, and hence render their political yoke more galling. Of the two evils, therefore, as might be anticipated, government choose, that which is morally greatest, and politically least. Consequently, the number of personal violences and murders is almost incredible. An incarceration of a few months for this highest of crimes, is often the sole punishment, and even this is dispensed with, if the offender can effect a pecuniary compromise with the relations of the deceased. Within a short period, the fourth murder, under the most atrocious circumstances, alone sufficed to bring a noted culprit to the gallows.

The present pope, it is believed, in executing plans for the advancement of his own views, is gradually undermining one of the strong holds of his power. The re-erection of St. Paul's church, in the environs of Rome, in a costly style, and the creation of five new cardinals, both measures in every respect unnecessary, are among the extravagant plans with which he is charged. The means of carrying on these is obtained from extensive loans, for the payment of which his most valuable revenues are pledged, and year after year, these are sacrificed to his inability to meet the annual demand. We have heard it confidently estimated, that, adopting the past as a criterion, in the space of thirteen years, the resources of the government will be absorbed, and if the ability of the governed to support taxation, at that juncture, is not better than at present, there is no conceivable means of furnishing an adequate supply to sustain the papal credit. But it is highly probable that another and more rapid agency than the slow depreciation of the treasury will, ere then, have permanently altered the political condition not only of Rome, but of all Italy.

The degeneracy of modern Rome is a subject ever forced upon the thoughtful resident, whenever his mind is free to re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vert to the local and moral circumstances by which he is surrounded. And to one who is in anywise familiar with her past history or susceptible to her present influences, it becomes an almost absorbing theme. Vainly, at times, do the glories of the Vatican allure him; their delightful enchantments fade before a more impressive reality. He cannot rejoice unreservedly in the splendors of human art, when humanity is a wreck around him; he cannot indulge in stirring retrospection over the sculptured figure of an old Roman, when it serves but to render more prominent the moral deformity of his descendant. And if a gleam of native enthusiasm excite him, caught from scenes which the supremacy of character has hallowed, or a sentiment of rich gratification steals over him from the midst of material beauty, the idea which he most loves to connect with these, — the idea of his race, — brings with it an overpowering sadness. Throughout all that art or antiquity here unfolds, he feels as if wandering in a beautiful garden, once blest with a presence which shall know it no more. He feels in his inmost soul, that it was this non-existent object of his love which lent an hitherto unknown interest to the marble and canvass, to mount and river, and while ever and anon their silent beauty affords a sad pleasure, they oftener serve but to remind him of the grave which has closed over the beloved of his memory.

Yet he gradually derives consolation, which sometimes brightens into happiness, in attaching himself to such mementos, and when they recall most strongly what has been, the thought of what may yet be, brings home an exquisite and almost forgotten delight. While melancholy even imparts its sad hue to the moral observer of Rome's relics and ruins, something of hope, of instinctive anticipation, bears out the mental gratification which ever flows from them.

The manners and morals of Italy, like the same characteristics of other countries, are sometimes condemned, without discrimination, even by intelligent as well as virtuous men. Yet not only should the general fact, that the intercourse of travellers is usually limited to the extreme exemplars of the population of a country, be kept in view, in judging of character in Italy; let it be also borne in mind that the choicest spirits of a nation, in such a political condition, are often found only in the shades of retirement at home, or enduring voluntary exile in a foreign land. "Character," says a distinguished

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

authoress, "is an instinct; it is more allied with nature than the understanding; and yet circumstances alone give men the opportunity of developing it." And to the sojourner in Italy, who marks the unfolding of this instinct, where it is most truly and natively developed, in that inner tabernacle of life, which we call *home*, will be revealed such qualities of humanity as are rarely, if ever, known in equal freshness and beauty. Domestication in a Tuscan family, combining, as is there so frequently the case, nobility of birth with reduced circumstances, opened to ourselves a new and delightful vista of observation. The modern Italian character is far more intimately associated, in our minds, with the memory of acts and sympathies of rare urbanity and friendliness, than with the by-way specimens of imposition and mendicity, with which travellers seem to delight in interlarding their journals. He who, in estimating character, attaches due importance to what have been philosophically denominated the *affective* powers, will scarcely dwell despairingly upon the characteristics even of the present inhabitants of Italy. They are, in truth, the children of feeling. And hence we find the uneducated peasantry and artisans appreciating and relishing, often most enthusiastically, the poetry and music of their country. The modification of Petrarch's sonnets, and their becoming popular simply in an oral form, is a phenomenon explicable only on the ground of a national taste and enthusiasm. Nor have these general features ceased to be. Although "silent rows the songless gondolier," the stanzas of Tasso are not forgotten in Venice, nor does Ariosto cease to amuse the crowd on the Mole at Naples. If, therefore, one who mixes with the multitude, adapting himself sufficiently to their temperament and modes of expression, who goes with them to the opera and the festival, and especially, is brought near them in the family, fails to discover and feel a remarkable degree of the pure spirit of human brotherhood, such as shall impress his heart and win him from his prejudices, we think his experience must be singularly unfortunate.

Certain it is, indeed, that the intellectual charms, the religious graces, the native modesty, which are the glory of the American female character, are sometimes wanting; and yet, in frequent instances, one cannot but feel baffled in an attempt to point out their opposites. There is often a rich and perfect susceptibility without any great depth of sentiment; there is a spirit of affectionate kindness, but its extension is seemingly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a kind of constitutional habit; there is a pride without true dignity, and an open, playful, genuine nature, which yet we are almost persuaded, but for undoubted evidence, to brand as habitual affectation. Let one imagine loveliness combined with unrestrained and unrestrainable spirit, illumined with passionate feeling, and seconded by a language whose very accents are poetic, and a manner frank, and from its intrinsic peculiarities, interesting, and he may have a faint conception of an Italian beauty. Let him portray to himself a vivid and restless imagination, over whose magic-working energies no moral control presides, and into whose brilliant images no meditative coloring enters, an intellect too active and inconstant for intense or elevated action, a heart exquisitely alive to every faint impression of sympathy and love; in a word, a spirit ardent, unchastened by the perfect sentiment of religion, unnerved by the holy sinews of christian principle, and yet glowing, restless and energetic, and he may arrive at an inadequate but not incorrect idea of a species of female character in Italy.

General manners and morals are, indeed, proverbially too loose, not to merit the condemnation of the just observer. How far this is ascribable to the political and physical peculiarities of the country, an unprejudiced man cannot easily declare, while candor compels him to confess that these palliating causes exist. We have remarked, as a striking proof of the want of intellectual resources among the Italians, their sympathy for one who, from choice or necessity, is even temporarily solitary. And the importance which the mere conventional acts of life, and the occasional intervention of amusement, have acquired in their estimation, evinces the mournful absence of more worthy and truly valuable employments both for the time and intellect.

Let it ever be remembered, in view of the present moral and social condition of Italy, how early the "fatal gift of beauty" provoked those predatory incursions which have so despoiled her shores, and neutralized her nationality. How often have the glittering ranks of an invading host gleamed, like a meteor of ill omen, amid the mists of that mountain barrier, which nature has interposed between her favorite land and the surrounding nations!

The history of Italy, in the middle ages, is a detail of successive contests, internal and foreign, the only result of which seems to have been the settling down of the political being of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the whole country into a kind of hydra-despotism, — a government shared by foreign princes, ecclesiastical rulers, the inhabitants (and their representatives) of the several states. During the long twenty years of Napoleon's domination, whether enduring the horrors of famine in besieged Genoa, sacrificing to the Moloch of war upon the plains of Lombardy, or sending the flower of her army to perish amid Russian snows, she was courting martyrdom only to secure a change of masters, or minister to the ambition of the ascendant. It is perhaps impossible for a visitor of the present day, to realize that this land has indeed been the scene of such constant, severe, and unsuccessful warfare. The peace which has been enjoyed by other countries of the globe, — a peace no less fruitful of general prosperity and general intellectual growth, than void of the ever active causes of commotion, — with such a tranquillity Italy seems never to have been blessed.

There are, indeed, few problems more difficult to solve satisfactorily than the prospects of this country, as regards its vital interests. The several states, if united and penetrated by a just revolutionary sentiment, would advance towards independence as rapidly and certainly as the moral circumstances of the people would permit. But this is very far from being the case, as the experience of the past and the aspect of the present, most clearly indicate. There is Austria, on one side, jealous of her foothold in this devoted land, and perhaps, of all their political sufferings, none is more galling to the Italians, than the insulting presence of Austrian soldiery, an evil which the pope, as a measure of self-defence, is continually encouraging. Then the corroding internal divisions, which seem stronger and more baneful in proportion to the motives for union, are an awful barrier to the enfranchisement of the whole country. Such, too, is the power of the priesthood, and their influence over the women, that through them the existence of any liberal sentiment is almost immediately made known and its extension prevented. Indeed, this mutual conspiracy, for, viewed in reference to its operation, it merits no lighter name, between the two classes of community from which, according to nature and truth, the chief purifying influence should proceed, constitutes the spring which embitters and undermines all excellence, individual and political.

But a deeper cause, and one involving every other, is discoverable in the want of intelligence and moral sentiment among

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the people. In short, while the liberalizing spirit and improving influences of the age, have to some extent become diffused in Italy, while we see distinct indications of the decline of ecclesiastical power and ignorant superstition, and hear of the King of Naples visiting the English and French courts to gain experience in the art of good government, we cannot but feel that Italy is not yet virtuous enough to maintain the forms or evolve the moral glory of genuine national freedom.

There are times when the American visitor is simultaneously impressed with the social and moral prëeminence of his native land and the local attractions of this; and is thus led to think of them in comparison with each other. In such a view it is impossible to lose sight of the several causes, which have combined to form the present moral atmosphere and intellectual spirit of the two countries. In Italy ages of barbarism and warfare, gradually changing to a more refined existence produced a brilliant period of chivalry and art, and then, amid despotic influences, acting upon a national constitution, and in a country peculiarly exposed to their worst effects, brought in the present form of society. With us the bracing air of freedom, alive with the higher impulses to action, teeming with moral motive, elevating knowledge and religious enthusiasm, naturally created a moral constitution presenting almost a complete contrast. What cause for wonder, if, destitute of a free arena, the ambition of a young Italian of the present day is merged in a frivolous passion for amusement? If, when the sublime motive of a national spirit is wanting, men think within the narrowest circle of human sympathies? If the women, looked upon as the victims and not aspired to as the honors of the other sex, cease to value the virtues which are their highest, but most unappreciated ornaments?

As the chief intellectual influence of Italy is that of the fine arts, one of their prominent intellectual results is to render us amateurs. Observation is engrossed with forms and sounds; the eye and ear evince a hitherto inexperienced capacity for enjoyment. The music, — the universal, metaphysical music of the land, — invites to the cultivation of the hearing powers, and the ever-present forms of art lead to a practised attention of the visual organs; so that we find ourselves insensibly drawn from the study of social circumstances, to that of influences far more abstract, but from their intimate connexion with humanity, with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

genius, taste and feeling not less rich in overpowering interest. It is, indeed, remarkable under how many different aspects the studious observation of the productions of art ministers to mental gratification. They may be regarded with the eye of an artist, solely as illustrative of the various schools, or as embodying the true principles of his profession; or, by the student of human nature, as affording a beautiful exposition of the several epochs in the history of the development of mind; while the tasteful votary of letters delights in comparing their distinctive characteristics with those of the master-spirits of our race, whose thoughts are embodied in literature. The bold and sublime efforts of M. Angelo, the beautiful expressiveness of Raphael, the mellow and rich pencillings of Claude, the wild genius of Salvator, and the highly finished style of Leonardo present to him striking and interesting analogies with what is familiar in the sister art of writing. It has been well observed, that the bases of these arts touch each other.

The genuine amateur, won by the attractions, and attached by a spontaneous and intelligent sympathy with the delicate dependencies and distinctions which enter into the composition of external symmetry, beauty and grandeur, gives himself to the study and enjoyment of the abstract and embodied principles of art. In such a one, the first emotions of simple pleasure have expanded into profound and inspiring interest, and the lights of acquired knowledge and improving judgment have redoubled the primitive sentiment of pleasure, derived from these sources. Versed in the laws, according to which all physical grace and beauty exist, accustomed to find pleasure in every object which develops these, and ever quick to detect them wherever they exist, the world is to him full of enjoyment. Art's most glorious products are as cherished friends, ever awakening satisfaction, and affording consolation; blest with innumerable visions of beauty, garnered from imagination's pencillings, under nature's tuition, and glowing with a deliberate enthusiasm, which has become an instinctive principle, himself is his greatest resource. Nor are such enjoyments without a favorable moral, as well as intellectual benefit. The student and admirer of the noblest human productions, who has become such from native sentiment and discriminating taste, is allied to his race by a new and interesting bond; he may be said, with peculiar truth, to love in humanity, what is truly worthy of devoted affection, — her capacity of exalted effort.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And however vague and ill-sustained such a feeling may be abstractly, no regard can be more intelligent and vivid, when cherished through the medium of mind's most hallowed fruits. These give life to and sustain, in the devoted mind, a free and grateful respect, the legitimate spring of genuine philanthropy.

Were it only that the opera, like every national entertainment, is typical of the general taste, and in Italy affords the most free arena for talent, to an observant traveller it must be highly important, — but it is by the strong constraint of earnest sympathy that we dwell upon its character and influences. In point of excellence, simply as a popular diversion, it is unrivalled; and the chief, if not the only exception, which can be made to its detriment, springs from the deficiencies, not of the amusement, but of those to whose good it is designed to minister. For the want alike of that physical organization upon which the pleasure derivable from music depends, or of the sentiment and feeling, according to which that pleasure is bounded, must equally be denominated deficiencies, since they bar a species of gratification as refined, as it is rich and absorbing.

But it were indeed unjust to truth and human nature, to regard the opera, in its genuineness, solely as one of those means which the selfish ingenuity of man has contrived for occupying or even solacing the intervals of active existence. Its origin and legitimate intent are far higher and better; and although many may avail themselves of it for purposes of convenience, or at the suggestion of that restless craving for fashionable baubles, which is the besetting sin of the thoughtless, there are, and must ever be, better spirits to whom justice will refer its claims.

As a subject merely of speculation, the opera might be deemed an unphilosophical representation of humanity. As her master passions are ever developed at once and fervently, the idea of exhibiting them through the regular and measured medium of song, would seem essentially unnatural. Yet, as it is impossible in the drama to render the illusion complete; as in the most perfect efforts of the dramatist, and the actor, the *unreal* is palpably evident; in adopting a more deliberate and predetermined form of expression, nothing of imitative excellence is lost, while, in general effect, much is gained. In the opera, art and nature unite in their highest excellence. There is all the power of stage effect, the language of gesture and expres-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion, the conventional paraphernalia of the theatre, with the superadded power of the most expressive melody, — that of the human voice exerted to the highest point of its natural capacity, and cultivated by the intervention of one of the most scientific and arduous of studies, to a degree almost incredible.

If speech is the readiest means of moral expression, and what has been termed the natural language the most unstudied and apposite, music, the breathing forth of the spirit in song, is the most spiritual, and therefore, more beautifully and delicately typical of the varying emotions which inspire it. To this form of expression we turn not, indeed, in the most passionate moments of experience, but when to these the calmer mood has succeeded, when love begins to assume the settled and deep character of a passion, when the shock of grief has given way to its calm sadness, and kindling hope slowly lessens the early heaviness of disappointment; when the quiverings of indecision have become composed into clear fixedness of purpose, and the sense of overwhelming joy is fast losing itself in the deep peace of conscious happiness, — in such ultimate stages of the passions, when their restless elements have become, in a measure, tranquillized, and their language more deliberate, then is it wont to pour itself forth in measured, but moving song; and if, in the opera, the limits of this natural order are occasionally exceeded what is it but an exercise of that poetical license, upon which even philosophy must contentedly smile?

The opera is the grand result of a general and discriminating passion for music. Without such a proximate cause its existence is truly impossible. It is this which gives rise to and sustains, not only the institution, but that remarkable and scarcely appreciated talent, which is its vital principle. It has ever been more or less the custom, even in the most civilized communities, to regard those individuals, whose lives are devoted, and whose present happiness is involved, in thus ministering to the general pleasure, with any sentiment rather than that of grateful respect, the evidence of this is to be found in the actual moral rank assigned to such a profession, and its cause is too often, doubtless, attributable to want of character in the members, and to that proverbial capriciousness which society ever evinces in relation to those professedly devoted to its diversion. The actual sympathy and respectful consideration cherished and manifested by the Italians for their favorite entertainment, and its worthy children, is most interestingly obvious to a stranger.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is, too, delightful, to observe the conduct, the effect, all the phenomena of an Italian opera. Evening after evening, we behold the same countenances intently studious of the performance, the same votaries luxuriating in melody, criticising intonations, — Epicureans at the banquet of Euterpe. So well regulated is the police, and so genuine and universal the taste for music, that order, attention and quiet are effectually secured. The audience, indeed, go thither to partake of an habitual gratification. No sound but a *brava* spoken, as by one deep voice, during a momentary pause, or the full burst of general approval, interrupts the pervading silence.

And what the general will of a people supports, equally in the way of amusement as in the graver concerns of life, must bear the impress of national character, and for this, if for no other reason, should merit respect. This is singularly true in relation to the opera. Happy is that people whose taste has induced, whose discrimination has improved, and whose characteristic interest well sustains this morally beautiful entertainment.

To define justly the surpassing charms of Italian vocal music is indeed impossible; and yet, if in so entrancing a pleasure, as that derivable from this source, self-analysis be practicable, perhaps it will be discovered that in this, above most other species of melody, all the faculties are gratified. The ingenious combinations and intricate art delight the mental perceptions, its unanticipated variations and undiscernible power and facility of development captivate the imagination, while passion is excited by the imperceptible encroachments of its enchanting harmony over the empire of the heart. There is indeed a kind of universality in this singular, this unequalled vocalism. The heart often beats with eager enthusiasm, when the notes of martial music swell upon the air, an elevating sense of grandeur is awakened by the deep tones of a sacred choir, and a national air or household stave, by the force of association, will electrify the auditor. Yet something of all these effects, and something beyond and above all of them, can faithful introspection detect in the bosom agitated, soothed, inspired by the higher efforts of an Italian professor.

To the susceptible *student* of its influences, the opera, in its perfection, is a poetical representation of the deep things of life; of those passions which operate most powerfully and universally in the human heart, of that mysterious and in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tricate connexion between motive and action, sentiment and thought, imagination and truth, which, in its development, constitutes the living poetry of our being. Such a one understands the mental experience of Alfieri, who says that the plots of some of his best tragedies were conceived while listening to the grand opera. And what medium like music, — music with all its depth and pathos, all its subtlety and infinity of expression, all its spiritual magnetism, for portraying to the heart its own indescribable capacity of feeling? And what an order of talent is that, which can successfully wield the power of expression requisite for a genuine opera-performer!

The votary of imaginative and intellectual happiness finds in this pleasure a satisfaction, similar in kind, though much more exalted, to that which the lover of physical science discovers in analyzing and combining the elements of matter. There is the same eager delight, which springs from the vivid knowledge acquired only by searching and successful experiment; but it is experiment upon self, not that which developes the anatomical relations of the body, but that which lays open, by a beautiful process of excitation, the delicate machinery of the inner and unseen being; it is the yielding up of one's native sentiment to the heavenly sway of the deepest melody, till its elements dissolve and combine in all the purest and most perfect forms of emotion. How palpable to the heart becomes its capacity of love, in all its endless modifications, and how keenly brilliant to the imagination shine its own magic energies, when both are bathed, excited, dissolved within the limitless scope of deeply undulating music!*

To many individuals, perhaps, the imaginative, the purely intellectual character of the enjoyments which attention and susceptibility may extract from the scenes and agencies of Italy, is an objection. These characteristics are, indeed, at war with the ultra-utilitarian spirit of the age. Yet there is a vastness in that source of happiness, denominated the *ideal*, of which

* "Can it be said, that there is such an art as that of music for those who cannot feel enthusiasm? Habit may render harmonious sounds, as it were, a necessary gratification to them, and they enjoy them as they admire the flavor of fruits or the ornament of colors; but has their whole being vibrated and trembled responsively, like a lyre, if, at any time, the midnight silence has been broken by the song, or by any of those instruments which resemble the human voice? Have they in that moment felt the mystery of their existence, in that softening emotion which reunites our separate natures and blends in the same enjoyment the senses and the soul?" *Madame De Stael.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such cavillers are unaware. Notwithstanding the capacity of suffering involved in a sensibility to this moral incitement, life would be almost bereft of interest were the fountains of imaginative enjoyment sealed to mortals. We know not, nor under the present condition of being, can we know, how delicately, yet universally sentiment mingles with, and marks every pleasure of existence. Its commonest incidents, its familiar routine, not less than its exalted offices, insensibly imbibe and radiate a spiritual coloring, — an interest not their own, in which consists the true secret of the delight they afford.

There are few countries better calculated to nourish and bring out the latent *ideal* of existence than this, although here, as every where, its expansion must be aided. The great intellectual tendency of the legitimate influences of Italy is, indeed, to maintain the supremacy of taste, and to quicken the action of the sentiments. In younger and more agitated communities, there is much to excite a vigilant habit of observation, and develop native intelligence; and in scenes less environed by associations of almost universal interest, through a spirit of ambition or the bustling zeal of general enterprise, the mental powers are variously and often vigorously unfolded. But in this, the absence of all occasion of immediate excitement from the agitation of any one of the great elements of society, and the comparatively narrow circle in which the machinery of commerce and government move, are circumstances which serve to exhibit in broad relief those more intimate relations, and less general, and therefore more interesting influences, with which human society abounds.

One is singularly uninterrupted, in the endeavor to brighten into poetry the pathway of his being. He is undisturbed, nay, he is not unfrequently encouraged by the atmosphere in which he lives. Tranquillity, — that pre-requisite to the enjoyment of a poetical temperament, — clears the way, and beautiful forms in nature, glorious productions of art, a passionate social character, time-hallowed associations, a melodious language and the teeming presence of musical influences, are about him to feed the flame of that enthusiasm which idealizes, and therefore enriches, human nature.

There is, surely, ground for moral satisfaction in thus scanning, under the excitement of sympathy, the present scenes and intellectual influences of Italy. We stand among her ruins, eloquent of past greatness, and instinctively gaze around for a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lingering ray of existing glory; we contemplate with impatient sadness, her palsied political being, and yearn to lose its memory in dwelling upon the tokens of mental prowess and imaginative expansion; and these we find in the beauty and perfection of her literature and art. There is something singularly consolatory, in thus tracing out a conservative principle from amid the insignia of decay and prostration. There is something quickening to the love of humanity, something which renews our faith in her progressive tendencies, in beholding the continuance, and feeling the power of an intellectual dominion, a heritage of mind, an empire over the heart, where the mere external sway of the political sceptre has been most sadly subverted.

ART. VII. — *The Last Days of Pompeii.*

The Last Days of Pompeii. By E. L. BULWER. New York, 1835.

THERE is something in the idea of antiquity which fastens deeply upon human sympathies. We trace with intense pleasure and interest, the commonest events and the every-day machinery of past times. Upon the ingenious inventions and wonderful examples of contemporary skill, and taste, and knowledge, we may gaze with admiration, delight and awe. But there is wanting that half-superstitious and imaginative excitement, which lingers around the tale of former days, and calls forth to the delighted fancy the forms of things forgotten upon the earth, the shapes that haunted the busy home of man in the childhood of his long descended race, and reveals to curiosity, as it were, the immortal spoils of the grave, which have triumphed over oblivion and decay, — embalmed in the sympathies of our kind, and consecrated by the fragrant breath of glory. The earth and the sunlight are our home, and we look upon the bright scenes of the one and the beaming and glorious usefulness of the other, with an apathy derived from habit and daily want, — but when the voice of the dead speaks as from the tomb, we strain the ear to catch its faintest murmur as a holy and inspiring revelation, — and when the poet or the novelist summons from the dark banks of Lethe, back to light and life, the forms

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the unforgotten dead, we look upon the fictitious scene with the fresh and credulous delight of childhood. With the yet unsated and vivacious curiosity of inexperience we go forth as into a foreign land, and mark the strange costumes, the unknown voices, the foreign tongue, the differing habits, with reverence as well as satisfaction. If the scene be laid in a barbarous land, and its actors but the primitive and unlearned progenitors of happier and wiser nations, still we look upon these traits of those who have undergone the destiny to which we all must come, not only as landmarks in the deep and broad stream of time, as chapters of the great history of this world, but as resuscitated objects from the land of shadows, as a link between ourselves, who are, and the great congregation of those who have been, — but are not. And as our thoughts turn to that future, when we ourselves shall be a wonder and a dream to that posterity, which shall be to us, what we are to far antiquity, — surely we may find abundant matter for thought and feeling, till thought is lost and feeling chilled in the boundless and dim confines of time and eternity.

But when the magician collects around him the scattered pearls of history, to interweave with his fresh and blooming flowers, well may imagination drink in with delight the majestic vision. When to the proverbial magnificence of the unknown is added our fond reverence and deep sympathy for the familiar, then is the whole heart awake to feel, and almost to exist anew and apart from its former life, in the magic scene. And such are the golden recollections of classic lore. Such are to us the great and the beautiful, the witching memories of Grecian and Roman glory. Though far, far off adown the lapse of time, their little span has already become but a bubble in the ocean of the past, — immortality has bequeathed their fame, their story, their very features, to posterity. Their former home is hallowed, — their tongue the voice of science and wisdom, the first essay and the last best treasure of education, — their names the school-boy's theme, and the man's standard and prototype of moral glory. A Cicero, a Demosthenes, a Cæsar, a Homer, are no longer individuals of a few years of existence, they are archetypes and models of their kind, — the great and familiar precedents of scholars, statesmen and philosophers, the boast and admiration of all the civilized children of time.

When the majestic spirit of Eld rises upon us thus, from the tomb of the immortal and the glorious, — when we see him in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his own "bright clime of battle and of song," throned upon the beautiful and surpassing monuments of greatness, still unrivalled among the empires of earth, with his eye upon the Capitoline hill and the Acropolis, — when we hear in his voice, the long dumb oracles of Delphos and Dodona, and see around him the bright band of mythological divinities, that ministered to his ancient sway, — then indeed is memory eloquent, and our associations burst upon us fresh with Castalian dews, and bear us away from the cold utilitarian and sceptic present, to the glowing, poetic, and beautifully credulous creeds of former days.

But the scholar, however enthusiastic he may be, must feel that the picture has its dark shades, and the beautiful medal a rough and even hideous reverse. Though we look upon it with the extenuating tenderness with which we gloss over the failings of the departed great and good, — it is an obvious truth, that antiquity, even classical antiquity, is but another name for an era of ignorance, of credulity, of folly and even of savage barbarity. While the enthusiastic scholar loves to look on Marathon and Thermopylæ, he would fain forget Cimon and Miltiades, dying in prison, — Pausanius, a traitor and a victim, — Aristides, banished because his virtue became too severe a criticism upon his dissolute neighbors, and the hero of Salamis an exile and a recreant. He turns too often with awe, and almost adoration, to Delphos and the Parnassian hill, bright with graceful fiction — vocal with the inspiration of Apollo and the banded nine, and would forget that the oracle was a cheat and the god and his priestesses the arch impostors. But philosophy and regard for truth forbid us to encourage this delusion, and we must teach ourselves and our children to discriminate between the glories and the charms of intellect and fancy, and the cunningly interwoven falsehood, the arrant knavery, which disfigured those scenes which come to us softened in the distance, yet glowing with countless associated rays, and bright with long accorded excellence.

In the work before us Bulwer has, we think, succeeded in this difficult attempt. We feel throughout his book all the inspiration of the poetic and sublime creations of ancient genius, and share in the scholar-like fervor which evidently swells the author's mind. Still we are disabused of all false impressions by a full and vivid picture of the littlenesses and the vices, the depravity and corruption which existed at the heart of this brilliant era. We see the ancients, even in their own godlike home, and surrounded by the magnificent results

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of genius, degraded, mean-spirited, base. We cannot here pause to discriminate between the different eras of Grecian history or award to each its peculiar character, its individual share of honor and disgrace. In her earlier day, the sons of Grecian mothers were more manlike than afterwards; and when the master-pieces of her art were produced, and the great achievements of her valor displayed, it is probable that her citizens generally were animated to some extent with the spirits of her chosen few, and were not unworthy to be compatriots of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato, Pericles or Phidias. At the date of our story, however, both Greece and Rome were sunk low in the scale of virtue and honor; and their past fame serves but to render the fall doubly disgraceful.

> " 'Twas Greece, but living Greece no more.
> So coldly sweet, — so deadly fair, —
> You start, — for soul is wanting there.
> * * * * *
> A gilded halo hovering round decay,
> The farewell beam of feeling past away."

And saturnine and ungracious Rome, whose chief renown had been in arms, — whose chief excellence, brute force or skilful diplomacy, had forgotten her Seneca and disgraced the home of Cicero, Virgil and Horace. She had never been, like Greece, prëeminently intellectual and imaginative. She borrowed her literature and arts from her conquered neighbor, — and with the lapse of time, the giant had exchanged his energy for sloth, — his stern simplicity for gross and effeminate debauchery, — gigantic only in bulk, — terrible to others only in name, but truly formidable to himself.

These varying elements and antagonist ideas have been skilfully wrought up in the Last Days of Pompeii. While we revel in company with the bright souled Glaucus, and the high-minded, pure and beautiful Ione, on the memory of the past, and sympathise with feelings worthy of the scenery and the attributes of the times and the place, we see in the incidental sketches, and the subordinate personages, a skilful illustration of the sad depreciation of man. The witchery of poetry is around us, the magic of association upon us, — the fancy is delighted and the heart warmed even while the sober judgment sadly appreciates and bewails the truth.

The story is simple and unpretending. Two young persons of Grecian origin find themselves at Pompeii, and become

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intensely attached to each other. The young Athenian, Glaucus, is an impetuous, high-minded and brilliant man, with no very extraordinary traits, but natural, gay, bright and attractive. Ione, a pure and lofty-minded woman, is a charming picture, but does not contribute much to the action of the plot. The principal characters, after the lovers, are Arbaces, an ancient liberal of the first water, who considers religion, as the alderman the charity soup, very good for the poor, — and uses the power and influence of his pretended sanctity and reputation for super-human knowledge for purposes of sensual gratification, and often to further criminal and bloody designs. He is the guardian of Ione, and his unhallowed and impure passion for his beautiful ward, and the struggle between him and Glaucus form the chief part of the plot. There are also Olynthus, an enthusiastic Christian, and Apaecides, the brother of Ione, who is inveigled into the priesthood of the religion of Isis by the artful Arbaces, and whose inward misgivings and anxious researches for the great principles of truth, with the attempt of Olynthus to convert him to the Christian faith, form interesting episodes. The other characters are but figurantes to fill out the skeleton of the drama. Sallust, the voluptuous but sound-hearted Epicurean, Diomed, the rich and purse-proud merchant, with his handsome, haughty and unfeminine daughter Julia, and the profligate and selfish noble, Clodius, are common, though well drawn characters. But Nydia, the blind flower girl, is an extraordinary being, very much like Scott's Fenella, but somewhat more natural. She also pines in unrewarded and hopeless love for the hero of the book; and the alternations of jealous frenzy and devoted affection to the happier, and by her, of course, envied lovers, are touchingly delineated, and beautifully expressed in the hopelessness and humility of her passion, in the little song in the second chapter of the third book. Her delicate and nervous temperament and sensitive feeling are finely imagined and well supported.

Arbaces, the Egyptian, is of all, however, the most striking personage, and his agency is the mainspring of the whole machinery. He is represented as a man skilled in all learning of the day, and deeply read in the occult sciences and deep arts of natural magic, and even of demonology. He is no enthusiast, but a cool and calculating impostor, who laughs in secret at the attributes which give him the means of governing and directing the multitude and advancing his own schemes and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power. Subtle and unprincipled, he is checked by no scruples; and accustomed to mock at the very faith which others place in his instructions and precepts, is withheld by no fear of retribution. The view which we have in Arbaces of the fluctuation between the doubts of all the popular dogmas and opinions of the later day of Paganism, and the confirmed contempt and unhesitating rejection of many of them, which enlightened minds could not fail to entertain, with the internal cravings for a better and a wiser faith, such as had only been made known to a few despised converts, is instructive both as an historical sketch of a peculiar era and a moral lesson. The philosophic and well informed were already accustomed to look with contempt upon the ceremonies and superstitions, and the irrational objects of worship of the classic mythology. Although society, in all its grades and shapes, still apparently acquiesced in the daily observance of the ancient ritual, — the human mind had outgrown the superstition which had hitherto found its subjects, now in the gay garland of a tasteful, poetic and imaginative ritual, and now in the long sweeping and gloomy trammels of fearful and oppressive hallucinations. Reason had triumphed long since over pure and barbarous ignorance, and was now growing impatient, even under the silken bonds of taste and ancient tradition in its bright garb of inventive beauty. The pagan mythology had ceased to command the respect and belief of the better educated, but it was still congenial to the national tastes and habits from which it originally sprang, and was intertwined with their literature, their laws and daily customs.

The multitude, in their blindness and ignorance, still adored its pomp, and trembled at its factitious errors, while the enlightened contented themselves with admiring the beautiful creations which breathed around them from statue and temple. The policy of the ruler led him to pay an external observance to a system which afforded the ready means of influencing and restraining the ruled, — and though augur laughed at augur, the gravity of the magistrate still sought in public, dignity and authority from the splendor of religious ceremonials, and the exposition of oracles which imposed upon the uninitiated. This constant mingling of splendid conceptions and paltry contrivances; — the humiliation of a highly imaginative and noble, but perishable, because false religion; the somewhat grotesque, yet interesting combination of highly cultivated taste and complete

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prostration of the mental qualities in which that taste had its origin, at an earlier and better period. The twilight softness and gracefulness of the whole scene, with the brilliant hues, which yet hung around the dying day of Roman power, faint but still glorious memorials of the broad light that had faded, and the hour of greatness and moral sublimity that had passed away for ever, — all these are points to constitute a picture of unrivalled beauty. Volumes would scarce suffice to trace all the interesting features of these times, — for they add to their own peculiar and extraordinary character, a prescriptive and classic hold upon our youthful associations and our more mature meditations. Wherever we turn for models of taste and grandeur, in literature or art, to Greece still belongs the palm of an ethereal and spiritual excellence, to which the moderns can oppose nothing but their superiority in scientific research and utilitarian philosophy, — whose results we all feel most sensibly, but cannot admire, except with our understanding. For the heart and the nervous and delicate perceptions, which we class under the name of taste, modern excellence is to Grecian art, what a Lowell factory is to the Parthenon. But to leave this endless and seductive topic, we will but add a recommendation to all who can, to go and behold the wreck of human glory on the plains of Greece and Italy, and to those who, from taste or necessity, travel entirely in their own elbow-chair, to take a jaunt with Bulwer.

Since the publication of the Last Days of Pompeii, Mr. S. L. Fairfield, editor of the American Monthly Magazine, published in New York, has claimed in that work the original authorship of much of its materials. According to his account of the matter, he printed some time since a poem, styled the "Last Night of Pompeii," a copy of which he sent to Bulwer, as one of the leading literary men of the old world. The general plan of both works, as might be supposed from their titles, is somewhat analogous; and many incidents, especially the *denouement*, in which some of the personages condemned to die, according to the cruel custom of Rome, by wild beasts in the amphitheatre, are rescued by the terrible event which overwhelmed both persecutors and persecuted, are common to both the poem and the novel. The scene in the temple between Arbaces and Ione, where the nefarious designs of the Egyptian are interrupted by an earthquake, is borrowed in its incidents alone from one in Mr. Fairfield's poem. Indeed, the plagiar-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism is throughout solely in borrowing the plot without any reference to the characters that act, under the circumstances which constitute the machinery, — for the personages are entirely distinct in conception and widely different in style of execution. The more elevated parts of the work have not a feature in common; but it must be allowed, that Bulwer has most unceremoniously appropriated whole series of contrivances *ab ovo usque ad mala*, to an extent which would have rendered a previous acknowledgment of the debt, in our humble judgment, very creditable to the Englishman, and a mere act of justice to the American writer. *Sed non nostrum tantas componere lites.* The whole affair is rather a question of private property in a certain mechanical apparatus, than a literary fraud on which the public are interested to pass judgment.

But there are certain other charges adduced against Bulwer by our countryman, which have often before been objected both to him and Byron. These conspicuous and popular authors have introduced into their works a class of characters, preaching bad doctrines and practising worse morality, which many good and wise men have considered as dangerous ingredients in works addressed to the imagination, and read mostly by the unreflecting and superficial. The artificial and sensual Epicurianism of a Pelham, the refined, glozing and specious theories of Bolingbroke and Shaftsbury, and the gloomy, daring scepticism of an Arbaces, may chance to find among the classes who read more for excitement than instruction, who read much and think little, more gulls than critics, more who will have just enough of sympathy to admire, than who will have the discrimination to detect and the independence to reject them. And with regard to Byron's impassioned perversions of lofty feeling and aberrations of native energy, not a few will be hurried away in the rush of intense enthusiasm, to dwell more upon the splendor and dignity which still clothe the brow of the fallen one, than upon the guiltiness which caused the fall or the depth of the moral degradation; and thus, contrary to the assertion of Burke, vice will double its evil effects, by losing all its grossness. It is true that Byron has not given to his personifications of hearts maddened and led astray, nor Bulwer to his specimens of bewildered intellects, the sanction of success in their theories, or happy results of their experiments; and it may be said that it is neither uninteresting nor unprofitable to contemplate these various moods of the human character, good

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or evil,—still, the writer who wishes to secure to himself the esteem as well as admiration of his contemporaries, and the gratitude of posterity, will be careful to set the mark upon every exhibition of erroneous and ill regulated feeling or guileful and specious reasoning, where it may meet the eye even of the careless reader, and leave nothing to be misunderstood, nothing to be a snare for thoughtless sympathy, nothing that may encourage a thought or a presumption derogatory to virtue. And if he have kindled by his Promethean touch, a meteor from the fog damps of error and mysticism, and hung it high in the heavens in his own strong and upward flight, he will place it not as a landmark to guide, but as a beacon to warn us off from the vicinity of danger. In the care which should thus be required of those who deal with perilous materials, Bulwer and Byron have both been deficient, and we have good cause to complain that the repast has been so served up, that many may swallow the poison and pass over the antidote. Such a result, it is true, would probably be chargeable to haste and want of reflection in the reader, more perhaps, than to insufficiency of moral point in the writer, — but authors are bound to remember that they furnish food for weak as well as strong stomachs, and it is their duty carefully to avoid and clearly to designate erroneous impressions.

On Bulwer's first appearance as a novelist, the prevailing disposition seemed to be to depreciate him. Whoever reads the Last Days of Pompeii will, we think, be no longer inclined to deny him his meed of praise. He has undoubtedly faults, — and peculiar as he is in style and manner, he could hardly fail to have them . But he has here shown himself an accomplished and thorough scholar, and if our opinion be correct, he has evinced great poetical genius. His songs in these volumes are, many of them, gems of the purest lustre and breathe a classical fervor and an antique spirit, such as none but a finished scholar could impart. Bulwer differs *toto coelo* from Scott. The latter owes his excellence in his novels, mainly to correct and keen observation ; the former principally to deep thought and enthusiasm. Scott's great characters are admirable personifications of manners and habits as they exist,—his more elevated and imaginative conceptions are not his best. Jeanie Deans is worth all his lady-like and romantic heroines ; Monkbarns and Edie Ochiltree are more interesting than all his grandees and lovers. Keen humor, deep relish for individual

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peculiarities, and the faithful and full portraying of the thousand minute and various affections and ideas that make the man, have made Scott's fictions interesting to all, and given him his fame. Bulwer's personages are abstractions, — creatures of deep and peculiar thought, beings of acute sympathies and high-wrought intellect. You do not see many, perhaps none of Bulwer's principal characters, walking about the streets. They are his own, — such as might perhaps exist under the influences with which he surrounds them, but such as in real life are seldom to be found if at all. He resembles in this respect Lord Byron, — as he also does in his burning energy of thought, and powerful and captivating language. Scott is a man of the world, — Bulwer is more the man of books, — Scott observes what is going on without him, — Bulwer elaborates in his own heart and from his own stores, less natural but sometimes surpassingly grand and beautiful creations. And he has certainly proved his resources to be great, his mind powerful and highly cultivated, —his fancy vivid, and enthusiasm and learning of a high and pure order, — though he may be often eccentric and anomalous. The best proof of his merit is, that his works are highly interesting. The last, too, has less of his peculiar faults than most of the preceding ones. We shall be glad to tread again with him a far off land, and live awhile in a long gone age.

Bulwer and Byron are the best illustrations among the late writers of the peculiar genius of the last era of literature. There is a marked difference between the authors of the last fifty years and those who preceded, especially the writers of Queen Anne's day. It has been much the fashion to institute invidious comparisons and underrate the former, as having lost the true classic unction of Pope, Dryden, Swift, Johnson and Otway, — but though totally unlike, it does not necessarily follow, that the moderns are the inferior, — or at least, it is not clear that their dissimilarity constitutes of itself inferiority. The great changes which have been wrought in society, almost force the mind into new trains of thought and new modes of expression. What in Pope's Essays seemed to the generally uneducated people, a sage and acute observation, might now appear, to our devourers of works of every description, a trite remark, too obviously true to excite admiration or rouse an idea. What then occurred readily to the author and impressed favorably the reader, may now escape the observation of the first from its very familiarity, and be honored by the second, if presented in a book, with the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

charge of stupidity. The literature of the present day is no longer much occupied in describing inanimate nature, or criticising and commenting on the common and social features of human life, — for philosophy and science have now passed the limits where they cease to interest general readers, and as the commonplaces of morality, and the every day appearances of life have been amply detailed, the light literature of the nineteenth century appeals more to feeling, under various and novel forms of excitement, as in our romances and poems. Plays, satires and didactic poetry are less in vogue. Thought is now become introspective and inculcates common truths, more through the tastes and passions and sentiments, than in moral points and antithetic dogmas. The attempt is less to rouse by descriptions of what must have been often before described, than to wake the heart, and thereby stimulate the mind by inspirations of passion and sentiment. If the different states of society and the great disparity of general information in the mass of the two periods, be well considered, many other causes for the distinctive attributes of these eras will be discovered, which we must pass over, for want of space. We will only add, that the inquiry must be both interesting and useful to those who will pursue it.

ART. VIII. — *Immigration.*

Remarks on the United States of America, with regard to the actual State of Europe. By HENRY DUHRING. London. 1833.

MANY principles of his nature conspire to render man a migratory animal. Curiosity, the desire of acquisition, the spirit of change and adventure have driven, at different periods, his footsteps over our planet, and have conferred on him in his wanderings the correspondent characters of the traveller, the conqueror and the colonist. Whatever interest may have occasionally attached to him in the two former capacities, it is the latter chiefly, in which, while consulting his individual advantage, he has fulfilled an imperious law of his nature, he is most universally interesting. But more especially so,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when statistical geography presents us, as in the present age, but two grand divisions of the earth; one, namely, in which population is pressing closely upon the limits of subsistence, and one in which the means of subsistence await an apparently unlimited development from the access of population. With respect to the former of these, the principles of emigration have been fully and anxiously investigated. The influence of colonization as regards both a subtraction of part of the people, and the subsequent benefits to be derived from the commercial relations of the colony, has been considered with a jealousy and care, inspired by the great importance of the subject, both in a political and economical point of view. It is a subject, which exerts at this day a paramount interest in the councils of princes and the cottages of peasants, and which must necessarily influence still more and more the domestic as well as external policy of civilized Europe.

But the subject is scarcely less interesting to those countries, which form the natural receptacle of this redundant population, although in this view it has received by no means the same degree of attention and discussion. Content with the obvious advantages of an arrangement, in which all the gain has appeared to be on our own side, we, who have led the van of emigration and have established in the wilderness a home and an empire, have perhaps been too little attentive to the many important responsibilities which devolve on ourselves in relation to this subject. We have been too keenly engrossed by the task of counting our rapidly multiplying millions, properly and adequately to appreciate the influence of those multitudes which the old world is daily pouring upon our coasts, on our political institutions or our social character. We have looked exclusively to the bright vision of future power and predominance; and it is only when some overburdened parish has disgorged in our sea-ports its occasional cargo of vice and pauperism, that we have been roused to ask ourselves the question, whether every addition to our numbers be an addition to our strength, and whether self-preservation, if not philanthropy, do not call our attention to the wants, the character and the destination of the foreign emigrant.

In the circumstances of the American republic, as will be observed, the subject is one not merely of peculiar interest, but of almost entire novelty; the emigrant being here offered on the one hand all the freedom and immunity of an original set-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tler, and enjoying on the other, the security and privileges of an already established and well organized community. As he, therefore, who looks exclusively to the wide and thinly settled domain, which stretches with unbounded fertility towards the Pacific, will be apt to consider the United States as the natural and undoubted receptacle of the surplus population of Europe, so, on the other hand, those who regard the importance of securing, strengthening and perpetuating the social institutions which we have already founded, may be permitted to ask whether some regulating superintendence and control might not be prudently and properly applied to the enormous influx of foreign emigrants. The inquiry is prompted by no illiberal jealousy, nor conceived in the spirit of exclusion or appropriation. It is suggested by a considerate regard as well for the real interests of the deserving emigrant as for those of the republic, and proceeds upon the obvious necessity of looking as well to the purity of our government and to the virtue and happiness of the people, as to the comparative vigor of the one, or the numerical amount of the other. If our social character be liable to be infected by the vices and misery of older countries, from a too rapid absorption of their redundant population, or our political institutions exposed to overthrow and corruption by the undue accession of unassimilating elements, how can it be other than wise and humane to guard against a state of things, which must prove ultimately so unfriendly to the best and perhaps last hope of the human family? America is indeed a sanctuary, from which none can be rightfully excluded whose presence does not endanger its permanence. The North American republic has realized the wish of the Macedonian, who, when asked by a tyrant how far he would go to escape from him, resolutely replied, "to some place where the name of Philip was never heard of." Here is opened a refuge from every tyranny which imposture can beget upon human credulity, and a retreat from every evil which monopoly can inflict upon popular incapacity. But how long could such immunities be maintained, if those to whose care so rich a blessing had been confided, should either basely betray that trust to incompetent and unaccustomed hands, or negligently suffer the materials of our national strength to waste away in indolent stagnation or to perish by violent fermentation, for want of a just distribution and a paternal superintendence? This would be in reality to defraud the human

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

race of that fair patrimony which has been opened for them in the western world; for the discovery of Columbus would lose more than half its value, if once separated from the noble institutions of Washington.

We proceed therefore, without further preface, to consider the actual state of the migration to this country and the ordinary condition and destination of the emigrant. With respect to the amount of this influx, which has been found to increase by a very rapid and extraordinary progression, it cannot be computed that less than 100,000 persons annually seek, in the United States, a refuge from the destitutions and adversities of the Eastern continent.* A few of these bring with them some amount of value in addition to their personal ability, but a far larger number contribute little or nothing more to their adopted country than their personal and physical resources. These therefore are represented in the language of political economy merely by their numerical value. The governments of Europe have denied them those advantages by which man is enabled, through the instrumentality of a practical education, to hoard up a productive capital in his own person; and it is fortunate indeed if, in a large number of cases, the value of the individual be not diminished by the whole amount of those vices, prejudices and immoral proclivities, which have been engendered by partial legislation and by a long series of unjust and oppressive discriminations.

For the most part then the emigrant arrives in our sea-ports, wholly destitute of property, and, under the name of a redemptioner, is often indented to labor in order to defray the expenses

* The immigration to the United States has been gradually increasing during the current century till the present time, when it seems to have risen suddenly to an amount which may well arrest the attention of all who feel an interest in the history and destinies of mankind. During the first ten years of the century, it was computed at from 4000 to 6000 per annum. From 1812 to 1821, it exhibits an average of nearly 8000, exclusive of those who may have found their way through the Canadas into the United States. In 1830 the immigration had risen to more than 20,000; while in 1833, if we may place any reliance on scattered accounts, it was not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, and may perhaps have amounted to 200,000! Thus, during the first thirty-three years of the present century, a term which is commonly allowed for one generation of the human family, about 600,000 foreigners have found their way into the United States, and constitute nearly one twentieth of the actual population. This proportion, it will be observed, at the present rate of immigration is rapidly augmenting. We have purposely inserted in the text a number lower than the probable influx of either the past or present year.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his voyage. This, in his actual circumstances, is perhaps the most favorable lot which can befall him, for being thus supplied with immediate occupation, and placed in direct subordination to the habits, genius and character of American society, he is provided with a species of national education, acquires a real as well as a legal citizenship, and in many instances obtains an interest in the rights of property as well as of persons. The residue, however, with whom our business at present principally lies, are such as have either expended their little property in the purchase of a passage, or have been sent out at the charge of the parish to which their support had become a burthen. Emigrants of this description find themselves in our principal cities, without personal resources or friends, and in many instances with very erroneous impressions of the nature of our political and municipal regulations. The inequalities of European law, by robbing labor of its just fruits, and diverting so large a portion to the supply of the church and state, have probably deprived the individual of a just reliance upon his own resources, and prevented the acquisition of those habits of patient and unremitted application, which can scarcely be implanted with success, except in early life and by the animating expectation of a fair and certain profit on personal effort. Ignorant therefore from necessity, and idle through the absence of a wholesome stimulus, the emigrant's preconceptions of American freedom form generally the converse of his, who pronounced that "money was liberty," and in looking forward to his adopted country, the vision of wealth unattended by labor, and indulgence won without the inconvenience of toil, floats before an imagination which has unhappily confounded a land of equal rights with a land of voluptuous license. Even when the moral condition of the emigrant is more favorable, many circumstances occur to prevent his easy reception into the great mass of society which is floating around him. He is destined to feel the sharp encounter of many a prejudice which has sprung up, not altogether without reason, in a scene where the emigrant has so often avenged on individuals the unconcern and indifference with which his wants and sufferings have been regarded by the community. Whether therefore the human beings, thus cast unfriended and unknown on a foreign shore, be left to loiter away their time in the obscure retreats of the cities, or marched off to the service of some public work, where they must still be insulated from all the friendly influences of the society into which they have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been transplanted, much time must in either case intervene before they can be properly distributed through the country to furnish a supply of labor where it is needed, or to undergo that nationalizing process, which can only result from intimate and friendly contact in the walks of private business and domestic life.

In the meantime, however, the influence of the emigrant upon the community, into whose bosom he has been thus admitted, is by no means of a negative or indifferent nature. Long before the process of which we speak is completed, and consequently before the relations of civil and social life have indued him with the character and purposes of an American, he is allowed a participation in many of the most important functions of the citizen. In most of the States, the terms of admission to the polls are of such a kind as to give room, we apprehend, for an easy evasion of those qualifications which are required by the general law of naturalization. The state, the church, the police and the judiciary are thus all alike liable to be modified in their character, administration and prospects by the agency of an individual, who has been suddenly transferred from a land where he possessed no interest in the conduct of either, to one where every barrier is thrown down, and every institution submitted to the skill or empiricism of all who may choose to bestow upon it their regard or censure. Under such circumstances it cannot be a matter of surprise, if the emigrant, unfortunate alike in his previous disqualification and in his sudden investiture with new and untried privileges, be found sometimes disposed to add his weight to that portion of society which is most susceptible of partial impressions, and most exposed to violent and hurtful impulses. Bringing with him all the prejudices of his native land, and subjected to no moral quarantine at all adequate to their purgation, he is still, in his new locality, such both in character and opinion, as when he formed a part of the altogether differently constituted societies of Europe. As a philosophic poet has long ago expressed it, —

"Telle est la loi du ciel, dont la sage équité
Sème dans l'univers cette diversité!
Les Macedoniens aiment la monarchique,
Et le reste des Grecs la liberté publique;
Les Parthes, les Persans veulent des souverains;
Et le seul consulat est bon pour les Romains."
Cinna. Acte II. Sc. 1.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The effect which a promiscuous immigration may thus produce upon the political condition of the state, is not without some illustration in the past experience of republicanism. Montesquieu, in tracing the causes of the decline of Roman liberty, arrives at the conclusion that the disastrous change was occasioned not more by the enlargement of the empire, than by the indiscriminate extension of the rights and immunities of citizenship. "Si la grandeur de l'empire perdit la république, la grandeur de la ville ne la perdit pas moins." The different states of Italy first procured for themselves the establishment of a precedent, which, by a gradual extension to other and more distant communities, threw open the *comitia* to the natives of Europe and Asia alike, and corrupted the sources of liberty by the incongruous admixture of all the prejudices, interests and passions of the known world. The consequences were answerable, and it is worth while to trace them in the words of the illustrious writer whom we have just quoted. "Pour lors Rome ne fut plus cette ville dont le peuple n'avoit qu'un même esprit, un même amour pour la liberté, une même haine pour la tyrannie, ou cette jalousie du pouvoir, du sénat et des prerogatives des Grands toujours mêlée de respect, n'étoit qu'un amour de l'égalité. Les Peuples d'Italie étant devenus ses citoyens, chaque ville y apporta son génie, ses intérêts particuliers, et sa dependance de quelque grand protecteur; la ville déchireé ne formait plus un tout ensemble; et comme on n'en étoit citoyen que par une espèce de fiction, qu'on n'avoit plus les mêmes magistrats, les mêmes murailles, les mêmes Dieux, les mêmes Temples, les mêmes sepultures, on ne vit plus Rome des mêmes yeux, on n'eut plus la même amour pour la Patrie, et les sentimens Romains ne furent plus."*

We do not mean to deny that there are important differences in the circumstances under which this accession of suffrages took place in the Roman commonwealth, and those under which a similar accession annually occurs in the political census of the United States. Yet these differences must proceed upon one of three suppositions; either that stricter guards have been here annexed to the right of suffrage, or that the materials of which the immigration is composed are themselves of better quality, or that, being dispersed over a larger tract of country and becoming immediately interested in the welfare of the community, they present a very different moral spectacle from the

* Considérations sur la Grandeur des Romains, &c.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

condensed, yet fluctuating and venal population of Rome. If it appear however on examination, that in fact very feeble guards are opposed around the national ballot; that of the numbers who take refuge here from the oppressions of the old world, many have been not only impoverished but demoralized by the arbitrary and capricious exactions of the governments under which they have lived; and that, so far from being speedily and systematically absorbed into the mass of the native population and dispersed through the country, they are allowed by the neglect or indifference of the nation to collect in masses and to settle upon particular points of the body politic, then we presume that the supposed differences will lose much of the practical importance which we might at first have attached to them.* At all events, no one will deny, that wide as the country may be, and urgent as is every where the demand for mechanical industry, the access of foreign population may yet be too rapid and indiscriminate for easy and healthful absorption into the community under existing circumstances. A single glance at our large maritime cities will convince us that some such predicament has already occurred. Mrs. Trollope herself was sagacious enough, in looking at the collected masses of indigent emigrants, to perceive that all was not right. And without being able to perceive that the matter would be much mended, at least to the emigrant, by sending him to seek his fortunes on the banks of the Sascatchewan or Severn, rather than among the rich prairies of Missouri and Illinois, we may be permitted to doubt whether as much attention has been given to this subject, either by individuals or legislatures, as it deserves; whether, in

* Whatever we may think of the general spirit of the following remarks, there is undoubtedly some ground for the distinction which is there drawn between the conduct of an election at the North and at the South. We do not know how this can be accounted for, except by the accumulation of needy and uneducated emigrants in our principal sea-ports. We have ourselves heard an eminent citizen of Virginia express his satisfaction at the existence of negro slavery in that State, as tending to preserve it from the indiscriminate immigration of the lower class of Europeans.

"Compare the elections in the great cities of the North and of the South; what tumult in the one, what calm in the other! In the North, the inferior classes of society take possession tumultuously of the place of election, and by their indecent conduct, drive from it, as it were, every well educated and enlightened man. In the South, on the contrary, all the inferior classes are black, tongue-tied slaves. The educated classes conduct the elections quietly and rationally, and it is, perhaps, to that alone that the superiority of talent exhibited by the southern members in the Congress is attributable."

Murat's Sketch of the U. S.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a word, some measures might not be usefully resorted to, in order to facilitate the transit of the emigrant from the sea-port to the interior, and to promote by other means his safe and speedy resolution into the political and social body, of which he is to be thenceforward a constituent portion.

There are some considerations of an economical nature, connected with this subject, upon which it may be worth while to bestow a moment's attention. The almost unlimited demand for labor in America, occasioned by the extent of unoccupied land, and the comparative scarcity of that class of population which devotes itself to agricultural production, with a view only to the wages of such application, manifestly leads to the conclusion, that nothing can be more beneficial to all parties, than an unobstructed immigration of persons from the Old World, disposed and qualified to avail themselves of these advantages in the New. No adaptation in the processes of nature, no correspondence between the capabilities of one part of creation and the wants of another can be more plain, than the existence of such an adaptation, and such a correspondence between the unenjoyed prodigality of the Western hemisphere, and the necessities and destitution of the surplus population of Europe. The legislator or economist would deserve but ill of his species, who should attempt to oppose any obstacles to the accomplishment of so providential an arrangement as is here pointed out. Yet, the endeavor to control or regulate the misdirected and short-sighted impulses of avarice or want, can scarcely be viewed in the light of such an attempt. It is not necessary, certainly, that evils should be always left to work their own cure; there are cases which call loudly for benevolent interference, even where none of the rights of society are invaded or endangered. Thus it may become the duty of society to use means not merely for enlightening the judgment, but for imposing a salutary constraint on the will of the emigrant. After the discovery of the New World, when the thirst for gold, stimulated by the success of the first adventurers, had seduced mankind into a wild and hazardous pursuit of visionary wealth, any measure which might have had for its end to check the extravagance of public expectation, and to recall commercial industry into less romantic and deceptive channels, must surely have deserved approbation, as a considerate effort to avert an evil, which, if left to its own operation, could only be corrected by the bitter experience and the ruin

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of multitudes. Now, so far as the extravagance of expectation, and the neglect of more certain but less dazzling advantages is concerned, the mineral delusions of the early age of America may be said still to exist in the wide and unappropriated riches of "the far West." A spirit of restless speculation is destined, we apprehend, to be kept up for ages, not merely in the emigrant, but in the native American also, by the persuasion, that beyond the great "father of waters," and yet farther and still farther onwards, new settlements await the hand of enterprise, and court the acceptance of the most daring adventurers. The El Dorado of the sixteenth century has vanished, only to assume this new form among the savannahs of Texas and Missouri. The vision of wealth, unattended by those difficulties which retard its acquisition in more populous countries, will continue, no doubt, to operate in this way unfavorably upon American industry, until that *hereditas jacens*, which nature has opened beyond the Mississippi, shall be in some measure explored and settled, or until some revolution in taste or opinion shall attract a more equal estimate to the resources, refinement and cultivation of older communities.

It would seem but natural, that while this process is going on, by which the Eastern part of the continent is drained of a laborious population, in order to supply the demands of the West, it should itself be supplied in turn by the regular course of emigration from Europe. Yet this, under existing circumstances, is by no means the case. The immigration to America, in reference to the countries from which it proceeds, and its ulterior destination, may be divided into three classes. Of these, it is remarked, that the Irish are most inclined to linger about the cities by which they have been first received, and into the vices and follies of which they are most liable to be betrayed by the ardor of their temperament, and the recklessness of their habits. The Germans, the Swiss, and other natives of the continent, would seem to be inclined to seek a more remote settlement in the West, where they form detached associations, as at Vevay and Harmony, and while they subsist in a friendly connexion with the community, for a long time resist an entire integration with it. As far as our own observation extends, it is the Englishman chiefly who passes, by an easy transition, into the bosom of American society, and, repelled by no inaptitude or prejudice, readily adapts himself to the pursuits of American industry, securing, at the same

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time, his own permanent attachment to the country. In this distribution, we do not, of course, contend for any high degree of exactness. Individuals of every denomination may be found, we are aware, in each of the situations which we thus distinguish. Yet our distribution is sufficiently exact, to enable the philanthropist to contemplate the emigrant under several existing conditions, and to lead, consequently, to the adoption of correspondent measures for his relief and disposal. The end to be attained would probably be, to bring the first of the three classes above-mentioned, and perhaps the second, into the same intimate and beneficial relation to society at large, which is borne by the latter.

The German carries with him for the most part, into the interior settlements of the country, the same patient and laborious habits which had distinguished him in his native land. A peaceable citizen and a judicious husbandman, the colonies which he founds, though strikingly characterized by national peculiarities, are yet, almost without exception, models of well ordered and productive industry. The Swiss, too, will be found not to have lost that characteristic application and perseverance, which enabled him to clothe the most rugged cliffs of his native country with unaccustomed verdure, and to force its most churlish soil into a kindly subservience to his wants. "I have seen the inhabitants of Switzerland," says an intelligent writer, "carry on their shoulders baskets of manure up steep ascents, inaccessible to beasts of burden, and this for the purpose of cultivating some little insulated spot of ground which did not appear worth any such labor. The country-women wear their knitting round their waists, in order to have it at hand to fill up every little interval that occurs in their domestic employments. If a Swiss woman goes to fetch water from the fountain, or faggots from the wood, her burthen is skilfully poised on her head, while her fingers busily ply the needles." Habits such as these are not lost by a transit across the Atlantic; they are found as useful and as effectual to subdue the forest as the Alps. All that can be desired with respect to such emigrants is, that in free and intimate communication they may soon lay aside the Shibboleth of a foreign language, and arrive at a just understanding and appreciation of the character and institutions of the republic. It is the Irishman, and all who, like the Irishman, have been destined to contend with the ceaseless and disorganizing enactions of provincial vas-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

salage, that must still present the most anxious and perplexing subject of contemplation to the philanthropist and the statesman. We take our illustrations of this class of emigrants from authorities which will scarcely be disputed, none perhaps having so good a title to paint the effects of misgovernment as those who have been instrumental in producing them. We can scarcely suppose such artists willing to overcharge the picture. "That Ireland is overwhelmed with a beggarly and redundant population; that its millions are starving in the midst of plenty; and seem to live only to bring into the world millions as miserable and distracted as themselves, is matter of common observation, not only to all who have visited the country itself, but to all who have compared it with other states, even in the lowest stage of civilization, and under circumstances generally supposed the most adverse to human improvement. That its population is redundant as well as miserable to the very greatest degree, is demonstrated, not merely by the immense tide of emigration which annually flows over the Atlantic, but the enormous multitudes who are daily transported across the channel to overwhelm the already overpeopled shores of Britain. From Mr. Cleland's admirable statistical work on Glasgow, it appears that there are no less than 35,000 Irish in that city, almost all in the very lowest rank and humblest employments of life; and the proportion in the great cities of the empire, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Birmingham and Edinburgh, is probably at least as great. Humboldt was the first who took notice of the extraordinary, and but for his accuracy, almost incredible fact, that between the years 1801 and 1821 there was a difference of a million of souls between the increase of the population of Great Britain as demonstrated by a comparison of the births and the deaths, and the actual increase of its inhabitants; a difference which he justly considers as chiefly owing to the immense influx of Irish during that period. There is no instance on record of so great an inundation of inhabitants breaking into any country, barbarous or civilized, not even when the Goths and Vandals overwhelmed the Roman empire."* "The Irish are far less industrious than the English. Arthur Young, in his travels through Ireland, observes, that husbandry labor is very *low-priced*, but not *cheap*. Two shillings a day in Suffolk is cheaper than sixpence a-day in Cork."† "The starvation and

* Blackwood's Magazine, Jan. 1833. † Conversations on Pol. Economy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anarchy of Ireland is a leprosy which will soon spread over the whole empire!"*

Such is the estimate which is formed in Great Britain of the Irish character, and such the apprehensions entertained of the irruption of the wretched and starving population of that kingdom into the sister island. While our extracts furnish unequivocal evidence of the general destitution and misery of Ireland, the immediate cause of these, we may observe, is sufficiently explained by the want of industry, which is perhaps too justly imputed to the Irish peasantry as a national characteristic. It forms no part of our present purpose to ascend to higher sources, in order to account for the strange phenomenon which is presented to us in this wholesale destitution, demoralization and obloquy of an entire people. It only concerns us to know, that whatever causes may have produced these disastrous effects, they are not likely to remain subjects of distant and indifferent speculation to the American statist. Such as the Irishman is on his native shores, such is he found to be when landed on the quays of New York, Boston or Philadelphia. There is no charm in the middle passage to remove from his character the impress of recklessness and ignorance. The three pounds which bring him to America, buy him no more exemption from the inevitable consequences of his own want of industry and subordination, than the sixpence which lands him on the wharfs of Liverpool or Glasgow. Nor is it the Irishman alone, although constituting much the larger portion of the class, of whom the same disinclination to labor and incapacity to avail himself of the advantages of a free and unexhausted country may be predicated. There are hundreds of refugees annually entering the United States, whom the same political influences, which operate in the case of Ireland, have reduced to the same state of disqualification for every pursuit of laborious and persevering industry. In the condition of such emigrants, something more is needed than the mere removal of those legal impediments, which had hitherto obstructed their acquisition of property and independence. The desire of possessing these advantages is not necessarily consequent on the restoration of the natural ability to procure them; we must contrive in some manner to instil a sense of their value, before the emigrant can be animated to a course of rigorous self-denial and strenuous

* Blackwood. Ubi supra.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exertion. It is necessary to implant in him a taste for many of the gratifications of life to which he has hitherto been a stranger, and to enlarge the scope of his purposes beyond the mere support of a reckless and precarious existence. Without this previous discipline, the increased facility of satisfying his animal wants, so far from supplying a stimulus to increased exertion, will be found to afford the strongest solicitation to renewed and indolent indulgence.*

We wish certainly to speak upon this subject not merely with forbearance, as remembering that our own fathers were once also strangers in the land, but even with a sense of the deepest gratitude to those, who from time to time confer upon our country the honor of affording a sanctuary to those, to whom injurious laws have denied even a home. Passing by the illustrious names for which we have been actually indebted to almost every realm of Europe, it is by no means permitted us to forget that America was the destined refuge of Hampden, and that, but for a change in his private circumstances, a like plan of voluntary expatriation had dedicated to our institutions the virtues and the genius of Burke. While such genius and such virtues can be spared by the old world, we have certainly no inclination to close against them the gates of the new. Even the throng of less brilliant, but not ignoble minds, which we annually add to our national census, we welcome as life-giving streams in a thirsty land; as a strong and animating testimony to the value of our institutions, operating to the assurance of that faith which we repose in the ultimate prevalence of human liberty. It is but now, while inditing these lines, that we observe the birth of one of our most distinguished public men, — distinguished alike for his virtue, — his attainments, — his talents, traced to an obscure hut on the plains of New Jersey, the refuge some fifty years since of an obscure but honest Irishman. With such motives to grateful acknowledgment, and with such inducements

* "The remedy for the evils under which Poland and Ireland suffer, which are similar to those experienced in the South Seas, is to stimulate exertion, to create new wants, and to implant new tastes. The facility with which the wants of the Irish are supplied, permits that people to pass a great part of their time in idleness. If the population were diminished this evil would increase, because wages would rise, and therefore the laborer would be enabled, in exchange for a still less portion of his labor, to obtain all that his moderate wants require. Give to the Irish laborer a taste for the comforts and enjoyments which habit has made essential to the English laborer, and he would be then content to devote a further portion of his time to industry, that he might be enabled to obtain them." *Ricardo*, Chap. V.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to throw wide the avenues of approach to our favored country, we cannot in candor be supposed to indulge the wish of exercising any capricious discrimination among the objects of our national adoption. Yet it must not be concealed that some discrimination is proper, nor can we repress the conviction that a juncture has arrived in the condition of the two continents, when some degree of vigilance must be exercised by the one, in order to guard itself against the inauspicious influences of the other. The considerations which we have offered above, apply to the ordinary relations of Europe and America, but if we are not deceived by testimony emanating from different and independent sources, a new species of emigration, without example in the history of nations, and not to be embraced in the ordinary reasoning upon the subject, has already commenced its gloomy procession to our shores. The poor-houses and parishes of England, no longer able to endure the weight of pauperism, which a system of poor-laws, whose policy and administration seem equally open to censure, conspiring with the evils of a crowded population and a preter-naturally stimulated industry, has thrown upon the country, design to transfer a part of this incumbrance to the charity of the United States. It is not sufficient that the *penal colonies* of Australia are open to her convicts, England, it would seem, needs also that a species of *pauper colony* should be opened in America for her poor. Thus, while her own parishes guard with the keenest jealousy every avenue by which they may possibly become burthened with more than their proper and unavoidable share of the evil, and while the indigent and houseless Briton is scarcely permitted to pass the invisible line which separates Cornwall from Devonshire, or Durham from Yorkshire, it is held no wrong to transport the mendicant and vagabond by ship-loads across the Atlantic, and to abandon them, all helpless and aimless, on the territory of the young republic. That such things have been perpetrated, there can be no doubt, while more than one warning has lately reached us that the practice was growing into a system, distinctly meditated and embraced by more than one parish and county in England. While the inhabitants of Great Britain, therefore, are themselves exclaiming, as we have seen, against the incursions of the Irish, who, to say the least, are physically capable of labor, no compunction it appears is felt in shifting off a still more helpless and pernicious population on the hands of a younger people, still struggling with the difficulties and embarrassments of early settlement.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That the evil of which we thus express our apprehension is of no trivial nature, any one may satisfy himself, who considers the actual amount of pauperism in Great Britain. Not less than 1,275,976 persons, in a population of 12,300,000, derive their support either in part, or wholly, from the charity of individuals, or the doubtful benevolence of the laws. Whether the considerations which render these individuals objects of public munificence, be of a physical or moral kind, is nearly immaterial to the nation which is to become their recipient. We have already shown, that a change in his relations to society, and the increased facility of obtaining subsistence, can of themselves work no improvement in the character of the emigrant, and that some degree of moral culture is necessary, in order to endue him with those tastes and habits which are requisite for his own independent support, and the discharge of his civic duties. If we could imagine the 50,000 Lazzaroni of Naples, who at present content themselves with a mess of herbs and the moiety of a shirt, to be transferred at once to Charleston or New Orleans, we cannot suppose that the republic would gain any thing more than an equal number of worthless mendicants, whom, however capable of physical exertion, nothing less than the most urgent discipline could ever convert into honest and useful citizens.

We are gratified at observing, that the American public is not altogether indifferent to this subject. The legislature of New York has already provided, that any master of a vessel arriving from a foreign country, who shall knowingly bring any convict as a passenger, or otherwise, into that State, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be subject to a fine not exceeding three hundred dollars, and to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year. We cannot but think that such a law strongly recommends itself to the adoption of all our maritime States. We do not see, however, why its provisions should not be extended to meet the whole class of cases to which we have just been alluding, and to prevent the introduction of such *paupers* as, having been previously chargeable on any parish, shall be brought out at the expense, or by the agency of such parish. We are told, indeed, that such expeditions are gotten up under color of a pretended destination to Canada and other colonies; but by throwing upon masters of vessels a responsibility for the character of passengers, an effectual degree of vigilance would be induced amongst these

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agents, by whom it could be most successfully exercised, and at the very point where a moderate degree of it might be most efficacious. Such a law would arm the police of our cities with a very desirable species of authority, of which no one, who is at all acquainted with the general feeling in America, could for a moment apprehend an abuse. While it would sanction their efforts to arrest a practice which threatens to inundate our sea-ports with a flood of foreign pauperism, it would encourage them to extend to the deserving emigrant a degree of favorable discrimination and patronage, which is nearly impracticable under present circumstances.

Having taken such measures to avert from this country the injurious operation of the British poor-laws, and to bar the oppressive influx of convicts and mendicants of every description, we should be in a situation to employ such measures as might suggest themselves for the relief of the immense body of destitute emigrants, to whom our ports and our hospitality would be still open. What those measures might be, we shall not venture very minutely to prescribe. Our immediate purpose is fulfilled in calling the public attention to a subject, upon which nothing can be effectual but concerted action, guided by the experience and the prudence of the common mind. As in the course of these remarks, however, we have alluded to the expediency of promoting the dispersion of indigent and uneducated emigrants through the country, we will not quit the subject without briefly stating at least one of the modes in which that object might be attained.

With this view we should rely mainly upon the organized benevolence of individuals. It is, surely, no vain calculation to presume, that in an age like the present, a very extensive and effective association might be formed for the purpose, not merely of relieving the immediate wants of the emigrant, but of enlightening him with respect to the choice of an ulterior destination, and of enabling him to reach that destination as soon as possible after his arrival in the country. We are aware that many laudable associations already exist for the first of these purposes, but we know of none, so extensively ramified and possessing such means of communication with the interior, as to qualify it for the competent discharge of the latter. Such a society, being national in its object, should be national also to the fullest extent in its structure and operations. From our principal cities it should spread its branches into every district

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and village of the country, so that on the arrival of an emigrant, it should not only be ready to take cognizance of his wants and capacity, but be prepared likewise to pronounce at what point of the confederation his services would be most acceptable, and where, consequently, he might be most speedily and effectually engrafted into the community. Enough has been said, we hope, to prove that it is no inconsiderable object to procure employment for the emigrant as soon as practicable after his arrival, in some situation where he shall be detached, as far as may be, from the seductions incident to large cities, be brought into direct contact with American habits and industry, fixed in his attachment to the country, and enlightened with respect to his rights, his interests, and his duties. Much as we have heard of the want of genius in America, there is a spirit emanating from our institutions, and perpetually called forth by the difficulties as well as privileges of our social position, which must be at once recognised by all whose moral perceptions are not utterly obscured, in the earnestness, order and cheerfulness with which the business of life is every where encountered. With this spirit, the emigrant can scarcely be imbued, until by active co-operation in the pursuits of the community, he has become identified with its interests, and by some experience of its benefits, has learned to devote to it, not merely his fealty, but his affections. It is necessary, in a word, that in order to become a useful and creditable citizen, he should be placed in a situation where his services are wanted, and where he will consequently be repaid, not merely in the wages of labor, but in the kindness and encouragement extended to him.

If considered only with reference to the comparative density of population, the inducements to immigration will be thought to differ widely with respect to different parts of the country. From Massachusetts, which computes its seventy-eight inhabitants to the square mile, to Missouri, which numbers but two in the same space, every intermediate ratio may be distinguished in the different States of the Union. But there are some considerations, which might be found to counterbalance the apparent advantage of a slender population. The manufactures and commerce of the Eastern States must of course require a supply much more than proportionate to the territorial extent of those States, while in the region immediately south of Pennsylvania a process is going forward, which must ultimately make

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

room for an augmented immigration. It has long been observed by all familiar with the tract of country in our view, that the tide of negro population was rolling away, perceptibly and even rapidly, to the South. The staple productions of those regions are of the kind which is most familiar to the husbandry of Europe, and which, from the extent of demand and eligibility of culture, is most likely to attract the attention of voluntary labor. As therefore it is an admitted law that slave-labor cannot stand before the competition of free, it follows that in all the grain-growing country of America, a sense of interest must finally abolish the system of slavery, and open the way for the substitution of a more profitable species of industry. These considerations, it is true, will operate gradually, not only from the necessary difficulty of effecting so great a change, but from the operation of many prejudices, which at present exist on the part of the land-holder as well as of the emigrant. These prejudices, it would be one of the objects of such an association as we have recommended, to overcome. It might thus contribute to throw open to the emigrant a region of country unsurpassed in natural advantages, and peculiarly fitted by the temper and spirit of its inhabitants to conciliate the affections of the stranger, and to convert by an easy process the needy peasant of Europe into the independent husbandman of America.

We do not wish to protract these remarks; having expressed our own persuasion of the importance of the general subject, we leave to others to determine how far present action is expedient, and what degree of practicability belongs to those measures which we have ventured to suggest. We cannot forbear however to express our surprise, that amongst the benevolent enterprises of the age, the case of the destitute emigrant should have been comparatively overlooked. While, as a nation, we acknowledge the evils of ignorance, and practically endeavor by diffusive education to avert its disastrous effects from our national institutions, we regard with unaccountable indifference the condition of some thousands of persons, who, by the process of naturalization, may be said without violence of language to be annually born into the republic, although it is a well-known fact that most of them require to be not merely endued with new principles, but divested of innumerable prejudices that disqualify them for the proper exercise of even the lowest of those offices, which must necessarily devolve on the private American citizen. It seems to be one of the most common practical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

errors of the age to follow up the acknowledgment of a right by a hasty and inconsiderate surrender of all the privileges which may accidentally appertain to it, forgetful that in transferring power to those who have long been its victims, and investing men with rights, of the correspondent duties of which they have been kept in entire ignorance, we contravene a clearly established law of nature, which dictates that all great and momentous changes should be introduced not merely with caution, but with assiduous preparation. In the case of the emigrant we do not, it is true, complain of the term to which his naturalization is limited. Five years, under favorable circumstances, are perhaps quite sufficient. But we *do* complain that no means are used to render that interval what it was intended to be, a season of preparation, and that having loitered it away in the haunts of vice and wretchedness, without notice, encouragement or occupation, the emigrant is at last invested with the high responsibilities of citizenship, before any real progress has been made towards securing his principles or fixing his attachments. Our policy is defective in this, that while it recognises the abstract rights of human nature, it fails to redress the inequalities of European law in that very point, the moral incapacity of the emigrant, where they press with most hardship and most severity. The ignorant and improvident refugee should be considered in the light of a pupil, whom we have five years given us to form into an intelligent and virtuous citizen. If we fail in any considerable degree to attend to his wants, to supply his defects, to enlighten his darkness, we must of course expect that our chalice will be returned in time to our own lips, charged with the ingredients of insubordination, recklessness and venality; and that the fate will be at last inscribed on our own institutions, which has been already written on those of Rome, —"La ville dechireé ne forma nait plus un tout ensemble, *et comme on n'en étoit Citoyen que par une espèce de fiction,* on n'eut plus le même amour pour la Patrie, et les sentimens Romains ne furent plus."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART. IX. — *Burckhardt's Travels in Africa.*

1. *Travels in Nubia, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt, published by the Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa.* London. 1819.

2. *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan und den peträischen Arabien.* Von Dr. Edward Rüppell. Frankfurt am Main. 1829. (*Travels in Nubia, Kordofan and Arabia Petræa.* By Dr. Edward Rüppell. Frankfort on the Maine. 1829.)

JOHN Lewis Burckhardt, one of the most distinguished of the modern travellers in Africa, and the East, was born at Lausanne in 1784, of a highly respectable family, whose usual residence was Basle. His father was obliged to leave his country, in consequence of the persecution which he suffered from the French and their party. He entered a Swiss corps in English pay, leaving his wife and children in Basle.

In the year 1800, young Burckhardt, being then sixteen years of age, was admitted into the University of Leipsic, and after a stay of nearly four years removed to Göttingen. In both places his exemplary conduct and high feelings of honor, his distinguished talents and ardent zeal for knowledge, gained him universal esteem, while a remarkable frankness, cheerfulness, kindness and evenness of temper, made him particularly beloved by his more intimate acquaintance.

In 1805 he left Göttingen, remaining for a short time at Basle, and then proceeded to England in the hope of finding some employment in the service of that country. He reached London in July, 1806, and soon became acquainted with some of the leading members of the African Association, which at that time was desirous of making new attempts at discovery in the north of Africa. Such an undertaking was peculiarly attractive to Burckhardt's bold, inquiring and enterprising spirit, and he soon offered his services. The dangers of the expedition were clearly represented to him, but without shaking his purpose, and in May, 1808, his offer was accepted. He received his instructions in January, 1809, having diligently employed the interval at London and Cambridge in the study of the Arabic language, and of the branches of science most important to the success of his expedition. He allowed his beard to grow and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assumed the Oriental dress; he attended lectures on chemistry, astronomy, mineralogy, medicine and surgery, and in the intervals of his studies, exercised himself by long journeys on foot, bareheaded in the heat of the sun, sleeping upon the ground and living upon vegetables and water. March 2d, 1809, he left England for Syria, where he intended to perfect his knowledge of the Arabic language and familiarize himself with Oriental manners, at a distance from the countries in which he was to travel in the character of a native of the East. He was directed, after a stay of two years in Syria to proceed to Cairo, accompany the Fezzan caravan to Mourzouk, and thence depart for the interior. He remained two years and a half in Syria, residing principally at Aleppo, but made several excursions to various parts of the country.

In the beginning of September, 1812, he arrived at Cairo, and after remaining four months at that place, he set off for Upper Egypt, January 11, 1813, arrived at Assouan (Syene) the southern extremity of Egypt, on the 22d of February, and thence travelled into Nubia as far as Tinareh, 430 or 450 miles from Assouan, according to his calculation. He came back to Assouan thirty-five days after having left it. His journal on this expedition forms part of the volume under notice. From Assouan he went north to Esne, to join a Sennaar caravan. Various circumstances detained the caravan till March 2, 1814, so that Burckhardt remained nearly a year in Upper Egypt. During the tedious interval he continued to wear his usual disguise of a poor Mohammedan trader, taking care to be as little noticed as possible. Among the jealous, treacherous and cruel Mussulman nations through which he passed, after leaving Daraou, it was difficult for him to find opportunities of continuing his journal. Still less was it in his power to transmit any intelligence to the Association until after his arrival at Souakin, a port of considerable traffic on the African coast of the Red Sea, whence he crossed over to Djidda in Arabia. The detailed account of this expedition forms the subject of the greater part of the present volume. He returned to Cairo in June, 1815, and thence wrote to the Association.

"As the unfortunate state of his health prevented him, upon this occasion, from entering into any particulars of his Arabian journey, it is right to inform the reader, that in the following year he transmitted to the Association the most accurate and complete account of the Hedjaz, (Arabia Petræa,) including the cities of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mekka, and Medina, which has ever been received in Europe. His knowledge of the Arabic language and of Mohammedan manners had now enabled him to assume the Mussulman character with such success, that he resided at Mekka, during the whole time of the pilgrimage, and passed through the various ceremonies of the occasion, without the smallest suspicion having arisen as to his real character. Upon one occasion, when the Pasha of Egypt, Mohammed Aly, then holding his head-quarters at Tayf, to the eastward of Mekka, and who was not altogether ignorant of Burckhardt's connexion with England, thought proper to put his qualifications as a Mussulman to the test, by directing the two most learned professors of the law, then in Arabia, to examine him upon his knowledge of the Koran, and of the practical as well as doctrinal precepts of their faith, the result was a complete conviction upon the minds of his hearers, or at least of his two examiners, of his being not only a true but a very learned Mussulman. It was his firm conviction, that the title of Hadji, which his pilgrimage gave him the right to assume, would be of the greatest use to him in his future travels in the interior of Africa. Important however as were the experience and information acquired by his journey in Arabia, they were too dearly purchased; for there can be little doubt, that his constitution never recovered from the effects of that fatal climate, which has always proved pernicious to Europeans.* The severe attacks of fever and dysentery, which he suffered in Arabia, appear to have been the ultimate cause of the fatal termination of the disorder which, two years afterwards, in closing at once his labors and his existence, destroyed the best founded hopes of success, in exploring the unknown regions of Africa, which the Association had ever formed."

During the succeeding nine months, his attention was almost entirely devoted to the care of his impaired health, and to the preparation of his Nubian and Arabian journals for the Association.

In April, 1816, the plague began to rage in Cairo, while Burckhardt was waiting there for an opportunity to penetrate westward into the interior of Africa, and he therefore set out on an expedition to the peninsula of Mount Sinai. He returned to Cairo in June, and continued to reside there, occupied in preparing various papers for the Association, in the study of Arabic literature, and in other pursuits connected with the objects of his travels, till October in the succeeding year, when he was carried off by a severe attack of dysentery.

* The Danish scientific mission to Arabia, in the year 1761, consisted of five persons. Niebuhr was the only one who returned to Copenhagen.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"By the African Association," say the committee who published this volume, "his loss is severely felt, nor can they hope to supply the place of one whom birth, education, genius and industry conspired to render well adapted to whatever great enterprise his fortitude and honorable ambition might have prompted him to undertake. It cannot be doubted that his name will be held in honorable remembrance, as long as any credit is given to those who have fallen in the cause of science."

Since the appearance of the volume under notice, the Association have published the Travels of Burckhardt in Syria, the Holy Land and Arabia.

We now proceed to extract from his Travels in Nubia an account of the people of that country.

The Nubians represent themselves as descended from the Arabian Bedouins, who invaded the country after the promulgation of the Mohammedan creed. The country, when Burckhardt visited it, was under the government of three brothers, who paid an annual tribute of £120 into the treasury of the Pasha of Egypt. These governors, or kashefs, had about a hundred and twenty horsemen in their service, and were almost always moving about in order to exact taxes from their subjects, who paid them only on the approach of superior force. The kashefs committed acts of great injustice when they found persons unable to resist them. The brothers shared the revenue equally, but were very jealous of each other, and each robbed clandestinely as much as he could.

The revenue is derived from a tax on the sakies or water-wheels, employed for the purpose of irrigation. They are turned by cows. In fruitful years the winter wheat and barley, irrigated by one water-wheel, yields from twelve to fifteen hundred bushels. The whole system of taxation is extremely arbitrary and irregular. The poor villages are soon ruined by it. The rich pay less, because the governors are afraid of driving the inhabitants to open resistance. The kashefs derive also a considerable income from their office of judges, the administration of justice being wholly venal.

If one Nubian happen to kill another, he is obliged to pay the debt of blood to the family of the deceased, and a fine of six camels, a cow and seven sheep. If not paid by him, they are taken from his relations. Every wound inflicted has its stated fine, consisting of sheep and dhourra, (millet) but varying in quantity according to the parts of the body wounded. This is an ancient Bedouin custom.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although the governors of Nubia extort large sums from their subjects, they do not maltreat their persons by beating them or putting them to death, except in cases of open rebellion, which happen not unfrequently. The following is one mode of extorting money. When any wealthy individual has a daughter of a suitable age, the governors demand her in marriage. The father dares not refuse, and is soon ruined by the extortions to which he is subjected under the name of presents to his daughter.

The habitations of the Nubians are built either of mud or of loose stones. Those of stone stand generally on the declivity of the hill and consist of two separate round buildings, — one of which is occupied by the males, the other by the females. The mud dwellings are generally so low, that one can hardly stand upright in them: the roof is covered with stalks of dhourra, which last till they are eaten up by the cattle, when palm leaves are laid across. The houses in Derr, and those of the wealthy inhabitants of the larger villages, are well built, having a large area in the centre with apartments all round, and a separation between those of the men and those of the women. The utensils of a Nubian's house consist of about half a dozen coarse earthen jars, from one to two feet in diameter, and about five feet in height, in which all the provisions of the family are kept; a few earthen plates, — a hand-mill, — a hatchet, and a few round sticks, over which the loom is laid.

"To the north of Derr, the dress is usually a linen shirt only, which the wealthier classes wear of a blue color; or the woollen cloak of the peasants of Upper Egypt; the head-dress is a small white linen cap, with sometimes a few rags twisted round it in the shape of a turban. Young boys and girls go naked: the women wrap themselves up in linen rags, or black woollen gowns; they wear ear-rings, and glass bracelets; and those who cannot afford to buy the latter, form them of straw. Their hair falls in ringlets upon the neck, and on the back part of the head they wear short tassels of glass or stones, both as an ornament and an amulet. The richer class wear copper or silver rings round their ankles. South of Derr, and principally at Sukkot and in Mahass, grown up people go quite naked, with the exception of the sexual parts, which the men conceal in a small sack. This sack resembles exactly what is seen in the figures of the Egyptian Priapus upon the walls of the temples. The hair of the people of Mahass is very thick, but not woolly. All the young men wear one ear-ring, either of silver or copper, in the right ear only, and men of all classes usu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally carry a rosary suspended round the neck, which they never remove; they also tie round one arm, above the elbow, a number of amulets covered with leather about three or four inches broad, consisting of mystical writings and prayers, which are sold to them by the Fokara.

"The Nubians seldom go unarmed; as soon as a boy grows up, his first endeavor is to purchase a short, crooked knife, which the men wear tied over the left elbow, under their shirt, and which they draw upon each other on the slightest quarrel. When a Nubian goes from one village to another, he either carries a long heavy stick covered with iron at one of its extremities, or his lance and target. The lance is about five feet in length, including the iron point; the targets are of various sizes; some are round, with a boss in the centre; others resemble the ancient Macedonian shield, being of an oblong form, four feet in length, and with curved edges, covering almost the whole body. These targets, which are sold by the Sheygya Arabs, are made of the skin of the hippopotamus, and are proof against the thrust of a lance, or the blow of a sabre. Those who can afford it, possess also a sword, resembling in shape the swords worn by the knights of the middle ages, a long straight blade, about two inches in breadth, with a handle in the form of a cross; the scabbard, for fashion's sake, is broader near the point, than at the top. These swords are of German manufacture, and are sold to the Nubians by the merchants of Egypt, at from four to eight dollars apiece. Fire-arms are not common; the richer classes possess match-locks. Hassan Kashef himself had no pistols. Ammunition is very scarce and highly valued; travellers therefore will do well to carry with them a few dozen cartridges, which are very acceptable presents. When I left the camp of Mohammed Kashef at Tinareh, his nephew ran after me for at least two miles, to obtain a single cartridge from me, telling me that he had shot off the only one he had, during the rejoicings of the preceding day."

Tobacco forms the chief luxury of all classes, who either smoke it, or mixing it with nitre, suck it by placing it between the lower gums and the lip. The common food of the Nubians is thin, unleavened, and slightly baked cakes of dhourra, served up with sweet or sour milk. The dhourra bread is very coarse and made without salt. It is prepared on a thin iron plate. The whole operation of grinding, kneading and baking, does not occupy more than ten minutes. Animal food is rarely tasted by the Nubians. Palm wine made from dates is common in the large villages. A liquor called bouza, resembling beer, is made from dhourra or barley. At Cairo, and in all the towns

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and larger villages of Upper Egypt, there are shops for the sale of bouza kept exclusively by Nubians.

The climate of Nubia, though intensely hot, is very healthy, owing perhaps to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere. The small pox occasionally makes dreadful ravages.

The men are generally well made, strong and muscular, with fine features; in stature somewhat below the Egyptians; they have no mustachios, and but little beard, wearing it under the chin only, like the fugitives in the battle-pieces sculptured in the Egyptian temples. In the rocky districts where the plain is narrow and the people stinted for food, they are meagre. The women are well made, and though not handsome, have generally sweet countenances and very pleasing manners.

"Denon has certainly not done justice to them; but they are worn down, from their earliest years, by continual labor; the whole business of the house being left to them, while the men are occupied exclusively in the culture of the soil. Of all the women of the East, those of Nubia are the most virtuous; and this is the more praiseworthy, as their vicinity to Upper Egypt, where licentiousness knows no bounds, might be expected to have some influence upon them. During my stay at Esne, girls came every morning to my lodging to offer milk for sale; the Egyptians boldly entered the court-yard and uncovered their faces, a behavior equivalent to an offer of their persons; but the Nubians (of whom many families are settled at Esne) stood modestly before the threshold, over which nothing could induce them to step, and there they received the money for their milk without removing their veils.

"The Nubians purchase their wives from the parents: the price usually paid by the Kenous is twelve Mahboubs, or thirty-six piastres. They frequently intermarry with the Arabs Ababde, some of whom cultivate the soil like themselves; an Ababde girl is worth six camels; these are paid to her father, who gives back three to his daughter, to be the common property of her and her husband; if a divorce take place, half the value of the three camels goes to the latter. In Upper Egypt, when a wife insists upon being divorced, her husband has the right to take all her wearing apparel from her, and to shave her head; nobody will then marry her till her hair be grown again. The Nubian is extremely jealous of his wife's honor; and on the slightest suspicion of infidelity towards him, would carry her in the night to the side of the river, lay open her breast by a cut with his knife, and throw her into the water, 'to be food for the crocodiles,' as they term it. A case of this kind lately happened at Assouan.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Public women, who are met with in thousands in every part of Egypt, are not tolerated in Nubia, except at Derr, and these are not natives, but emancipated female slaves, who being left destitute, betake themselves to this vile profession, to gain a subsistence. The execrable propensities which the Mamelouks have rendered so common in Egypt, even amongst the lowest peasants, are held in abhorrence in Nubia, except by the Kashefs and their relations, who endeavor to imitate the Mamelouks in every thing, even in their most detestable vices."

The Nubians are generally of a kind disposition, hospitable, inquisitive, and without that propensity to theft, so common among the Egyptians.

"If the government were not so extremely despotic, the Nubians might become dangerous neighbors to Egypt; for they are of a much bolder and more independent spirit than the Egyptians, and ardently attached to their native soil. Great numbers of them go yearly to Cairo, where they generally act as porters, and are preferred to the Egyptians, on account of their honesty. After staying there six or eight years, they return to their native Wady, with the little property they have realized, although well knowing that the only luxuries they can there expect, in exchange for those of Cairo, are dhourra bread and a linen shirt. Such of them as do not travel into Egypt, hardly ever go beyond the precincts of their village, for, generally, the Nubians have no inclination towards commercial speculations. At Ibrim I met with two old men, who assured me that they had never visited Derr, though it is only five hours distant. Those Nubians who have resided in Egypt, and can speak Arabic, are for the most part good Mussulmen, and repeat their prayers daily: but in general the only prayer known to the others is the exclamation of *Allahu Akbar*. A few make the pilgrimage to Mekka, by the way of Suakin.

"I estimate the whole population of Nubia, from Assouan to the southern limits of Mahass, an extent of country about five hundred miles long, with an average breadth of half a mile, at one hundred thousand souls."

Such is the account which Burckhardt gives of the Nubians. But the Arab tribes, who lie south of Mahass, he paints in much darker colors. He staid a considerable time in some of their principal settlements, — Berber, Shendy, and Taka. The following remarks, taken from his account of the people of Berber, are substantially applicable to most of the Arab tribes whom he met with south of Nouba.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The inhabitants of Berber are Arabs of the tribe of Meyrefab. In common with all the Arab tribes who inhabit the valley of the Nile from Upper Egypt to Sennaar, they report that their origin is from the east, meaning Arabia. None of the tribes who live on the Nile are large, and each district is seldom more than a day's march in length. The settlements of the Meyrefab extend only six or eight hours' march along the river, but many of them inhabit the neighboring districts as foreign settlers. They say that the Meyrefab can arm a body of one thousand free Arabs and five hundred slaves, but, in their wars with their neighbors, they seldom appear with more than four or five hundred men. Their chief is called Mek, a title common to all the petty chieftains of these countries as far as Darfour and Sennaar. The king of Sennaar, who has extended his authority north to the southern limits of Nouba, sells this dignity on the Mek's decease to the highest bidder. The Mek's authority is feeble, but he is oppressive to strangers. The sums paid to the king of Sennaar for confirming him in his office, are generally made up by a forced loan from any caravan that may be passing. The houses in Berber are of mud or sun-baked bricks, and consist of but one story built round a large yard. Two of the apartments are generally inhabited by the family, a third serves for a store room, a fourth for the reception of strangers, and a fifth is often occupied by public women. There are very few houses of people, considered respectable, in which such women are not lodged. They are generally liberated slaves, who have no means of procuring a living except by prostitution and the preparation of the intoxicating liquor called bouza. Some slaves pursue this occupation to procure the means of purchasing their freedom. The women of Berber, even those of the highest rank, always go unveiled, and young girls are often seen without any covering whatever, except a girdle of short leathern tassels about their waists. Many, both men and women, blacken their eyelids with kohel or antimony, but the custom is not so general as in Egypt. Both sexes rub their skins with fresh butter almost every day. They maintain that it is refreshing, prevents cutaneous complaints, and renders the surface of the skin smoother; the men, in reference to their frequent quarrels, add, that it renders the skin tougher and firmer, and more difficult to be cut through with a knife. Burckhardt says, that he himself found great relief during the mid-day heats, from rubbing his breast, arms and legs with butter, and also

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from rubbing his feet with it when fatigued with walking. The skin of these Arabs distinguishes them from negroes, for though very dark, it is smooth and delicate, and as fine as that of a white person. The native color of the people of Berber seems to be a dark red-brown, which, in children, whose mothers are slaves from Abyssinia, becomes a light brown; if the mother is a negro, it becomes extremely dark. The features of the people do not resemble those of the negroes, the face being oval, the nose often perfectly Grecian, and the cheek bones not prominent. The upper lip is generally somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the negro lip. Their legs and feet are well formed, which is seldom the case with negroes.

"In marrying, the bride's father receives, according to the Mussulman custom, a certain sum of money from the bridegroom, for his daughter, and this sum is higher than is customary in other parts inhabited by Arabs. The daughters of the Mek are paid as much as three or four hundred dollars, which the father keeps for them as a dowry. Few men have more than one wife, but every one who can afford it keeps a slave or mistress, either in his own or in a separate house. Kept mistresses are called companions, and are more numerous than in the politest capitals of Europe. Few traders pass through Berber without taking a mistress, if it be only for a fortnight. Drunkenness is the constant companion of this debauchery, and it would seem as if the men in these countries had no other objects in life. The intoxicating liquor which they drink is called bouza. Strongly leavened bread made from dhourra is broken into crumbs, and mixed with water, and the mixture is kept for several hours over a slow fire. Being then removed, water is poured over it, and it is left for two nights to ferment. This liquor, according to its greater or smaller degree of fermentation, takes the name of merin, bouza, or om belbel, the mother of nightingales, so called, because it makes the drunkard sing."

"The effects which the universal practice of drunkenness and debauchery has on the morals of the people, may easily be conceived. Indeed every thing discreditable to humanity is found in their character, but treachery and avidity predominate over their other bad qualities. In the pursuit of gain they know no bounds, forgetting every divine and human law, and breaking the most solemn ties and engagements. Cheating, thieving, and the blackest ingratitude, are found in almost every man's character, and I am perfectly convinced that there were few men among them or among my fellow-travellers from Egypt, who would have given a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dollar to save a man's life, or who would not have consented to a man's death in order to gain one. Especial care must be taken not to be misled by their polite protestations, and fine professions, especially when they come to Egypt; where they represent their own country as a land inhabited by a race of superior virtue, and excellence. On the contrary, infamous as the eastern nations are in general, I have never met with so bad a people, excepting perhaps those of Souakin. In transactions among themselves the Meyrefab regulate every matter in dispute by the law of the strongest. Nothing is safe when once out of the owner's hands, for if he happen to be the weaker party, he is sure of losing his property. The Mek's authority is slighted by the wealthier inhabitants; the strength of whose connections counterbalances the influence of the chief. Hence it may well be supposed that family feuds very frequently occur, and the more so, as the effects of drunkenness are dreadful upon these people. During the fortnight I remained at Berber, I heard of half a dozen quarrels occurring in drinking parties, all of which finished in knife or sword wounds. Nobody goes to a Bouza hut without taking his sword with him; and the girls are often the first sufferers in the affray."

"Upon our first arrival the people appeared to me very hospitable. Every morning and evening large dishes of bread and meat and milk, often much more than we could eat, were sent to us from different quarters. This lasted for five or six days, when those who had sent the dishes came to ask for presents, as tokens of friendship; this was well understood to be a demand of repayment; and we found ourselves obliged to give ten times the value of what we had eaten. In general, foreign merchants are considered as "good morsels," (as the Arabs say,) of which every body bites off as much as he can."

"The success of a traveller, in this part of the world, depends greatly, I may say wholly, upon his guides and fellow travellers, and their being well disposed towards him. If he is not thoroughly acquainted with the language of the country it will be very difficult for him to select proper persons for his guides or companions, or to elude the snares laid for him by villainy or treachery; it is in vain to suppose that fortune will throw in his way honest or friendly people, who are too scarce ever to be calculated upon, in preparing for a journey through these countries. The traveller must consider himself as surrounded by some of the most worthless of the human race, among whom he must think himself fortunate, if he can discover any less depraved than the rest, whom he can place some degree of confidence in, and make subservient to his views; and which can only be done by identifying their interest with his own safety. Above all, he must never be seen taking notes. I am fully convinced, that if I had ever been detected by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

my companions with my journal in my hand, it would have given rise to the most injurious reports, and blasted all my hopes of success. While travelling through the desert I took my notes with much more ease than during my stay at Berber. Being mounted on a good ass, I used to push on ahead of the caravan, and then alight under some tree, or rock, where I remained, unobserved, apparently occupied only in smoking my pipe, until the caravan came up; but at Berber, and at Shendy also, I was often at a great loss how to withdraw from the persons who surrounded me in the house where we lodged; and it was unsafe to walk so far from the village into the fields, as not to be observed."

The rest of the Arabs whom Burckhardt met, during his travels on the west of the Red Sea, much resemble the people of Berber. After reaching Souakin, at which he embarked to cross the Red Sea and visit Arabia, he writes thus of the nations through which he had passed.

"The manners of the people of Souakin are the same as those I have already described in the interior, and I have reason to believe that they are common to the whole of Eastern Africa, including Abyssinia, where the character of the inhabitants, as drawn by Bruce, seems little different from that of these Nubians. I regret that I am compelled to represent all the nations of Africa which I have yet seen, in so bad a light. Had I viewed them superficially I might have been scrupulous in giving so decided an opinion, but having travelled in a manner which afforded me an intimate acquaintance with them, I must express my conviction that they are all tainted more or less deeply with ill faith, avarice, drunkenness, and debauchery. The people of Souakin partake of these vices with their neighbors of the desert, and in cruelty surpass them. My not being ill treated by the Souakin merchants in the caravan must not be adduced as a proof of their kindness of disposition. The secret fears of the Turks, which the entrance of Mohammed Aly into the Hedjaz had generally inspired, together with the apprehension of being brought to an account, if it should be known at Souakin and Djidda, that an Osmanly* had been ill-treated by them, were probably a powerful protection to me, although not a motive sufficient to induce them to shew me the smallest kindness on the route. I do not recollect a single instance of their condescending to assist me in loading my camel, or filling my water skin, of interpreting for me, or of rendering me any of those little services which travellers are in the habit of in-

* I had assumed the name of Osmanly on quitting Shendy, having there heard that there was an officer of the Pasha at Souakin, and another at Massouah.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terchanging: on the contrary, they obliged me, on different occasions, to furnish them with provisions and water; and in the evening their slaves were often sent to me to ask for a part of my supper for their masters, or to demand permission for the slave to eat with mine, under pretence that he had not had time to cook his supper. The intimacy of the people of Souakin with the Nubian Bedouins, and the unsettled state of their own government, have been the principal causes of their degenerating from the character of their Arabian ancestors. They have every where on the coast of the Red Sea, the character of avarice and ingratitude, or, to use the expression of an Arab of Yembo: 'Though you give them water from the holy well of Zemzem to drink when they are thirsty, yet they will suffer you to choke with thirst, even when their own wells are full;' and this character is confirmed by the testimony of all those who have had an opportunity of observing them in their houses. At Souakin, the law of the strongest alone is respected, and it is impossible to carry on business without purchasing the protection of some powerful Hadherebe. Every day some bloody quarrel takes place among them. Their bodies, principally their backs, are covered with scars; and a man, far from being reproached as a murderer, prides himself in the number of persons he has slain in private quarrels, and the sums he has paid as the price of blood."

We shall now give Burckhardt's account of the slave-trade carried on in this country. Shendy, a town on the Nile, in the southern part of the large region between Egypt and Abyssinia, has become the chief town in the black countries, for the Egyptian and Arabian slave-trade. Burckhardt calculates the number of slaves sold annually in the market of Shendy, at about five thousand. Far the largest proportion of them are below the age of fifteen. Those between eleven and fifteen years old, are the most esteemed. A male of this class, when Burckhardt was at Shendy, would sell for fifteen or sixteen dollars, if he had the marks of the small pox, otherwise he would not bring more than two-thirds of that price; a female was worth from twenty to twenty-five dollars. The males, above the age just mentioned, seldom sell for more than eight or ten dollars, because it is thought, both in Egypt and Arabia, that no great dependence is to be placed upon any slave who has not been brought up in the owner's family from an early age. Grown up female slaves, although past the age of beauty, sometimes sell for as much, if they are known to be skilful in working, sewing or cooking. Few slaves are imported into Egypt

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

without changing masters several times before they are finally settled in a family. In fact, slaves are considered on the same level with any other kind of merchandize, and as such are continually passing from one merchant to another. When the buyer is desired to take the slave away, it is usual to say, *sought*, (drive him out,) an expression commonly applied to cattle. The traders in buying slaves are very attentive to their origin, because long experience has shown them that there is little variety of character among individuals of the same nation.

"I never knew any instance of a Negro boy following the pagan worship of his father, and refusing to become Mussulman, though I have heard it related of many Abyssinian slaves, who, after having been converted from idolatry to the Christian religion by the Abyssinian Copts, were sold by them to the Mussulman traders. I have been told of several of these slaves, particularly females, so steadily refusing to abjure their faith when in the harem of a Mohammedan, that their masters were finally obliged to sell them, in the dread of having children born of a Christian mother, which would have been a perpetual reproach to the father and his offspring. In Soudan, the slaves, though made Mussulmans by the act of circumcision, are never taught to read or to pray: and even in Egypt and Arabia this instruction is seldom given to any but those for whom their masters take a particular liking. It may be observed, nevertheless, that they are greater fanatics than the proudest Olemas, and that Christians and Franks are more liable to be insulted by slaves than by any other class of Mussulmans.

"I inquired at Shendy whether any of the slaves were eunuchs, but I was informed that no eunuchs were imported into that place during my stay, and that Borgho, to the west of Darfour, is the only country in eastern Soudan where slaves are thus mutilated for exportation. Their number, however, is very small; a few are carried to Egypt from Darfour, and the remainder are sent as presents by the negro sovereigns to the great mosques at Mekka and Medina, by the way of Souakin. The great *manufactory* which supplies all European, and the greater part of Asiatic Turkey with these guardians of female virtue, is at Zawyet-ed-deyr, a village near Siout in Upper Egypt, chiefly inhabited by Christians. The operators, during my stay in that part of the country, were two Coptic monks, who were said to excel all their predecessors in dexterity, and who had a house in which the victims were received. Their profession is held in contempt even by the vilest Egyptians; but they are protected by the government, to which they pay an annual tax; and the great profits which accrue to the owners of the slaves in consequence of their undergoing this cruel

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operation, tempts them to consent to an act which many of them in their hearts abhor. The operation itself, however extraordinary it may appear, very seldom proves fatal. I know certainly, that of sixty boys upon whom it was performed in the autumn of 1813, two only died; and every person whom I questioned on the subject in Siout assured me that even this was above the usual proportion, the deaths being seldom more than two in a hundred."

"A youth on whom this operation has been successfully performed is worth one thousand piastres at Siout; he had probably cost his master, a few weeks before, about three hundred; and the Copt is paid from forty-five to sixty for his operation. This enormous profit stifles every sentiment of mercy which the traders might otherwise entertain. About one hundred and fifty eunuchs are made annually. Two years ago, Mohammed Aly Pasha caused two hundred young Darfour slaves to be mutilated, whom he sent as a present to the Grand Signor. The custom of keeping eunuchs has greatly diminished in Egypt, as well as in Syria. In the former country, except in the harems of the Pasha and his sons, I do not think that more than three hundred could be found; and they are still more uncommon in Syria. In these countries there is great danger in the display of wealth, and the individual who keeps so many females laves as to require a eunuch for their guardian, becomes a tempting object to the rapacity of the government. White eunuchs are extremely rare in the Turkish dominions. In Arabia I have seen several Indian eunuchs of a sallow or cadaverous complexion, and I was informed that slaves are often mutilated in Hindostan. Almost all the eunuchs of Siout are sent to Constantinople and Asia Minor."

"The treatment which the slaves experience from the traders is rather kind than otherwise. The slaves are generally taught to call their masters *abouy*, my father, and to consider themselves as their children. They are seldom flogged, are well fed, are not over-worked, and are spoken to in a kind manner; all this, however, results not from humanity in the traders, but from an apprehension that under different treatment the slave would abscond; and they are aware that any attempt to prevent his flight by close confinement would injure his health: for the newly imported slaves delight in the open air, and reluctantly enter houses, which they look upon as prisons. But when they are once in the desert, on the way to their final destination, this treatment is entirely changed; the traders knowing that the slaves have no longer any means of escaping, give a loose to their savage temper. At Shendy I often overheard my companions, who, although savage enough, were certainly not of the worst class of slave-merchants, say to each other, when a slave had behaved ill, and they were afraid of punishing him, 'Let him only pass Berber, and the Korbadj

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(whip) will soon teach him obedience.' The Souakin traders with whom I afterwards travelled, shewed as little humanity, after we had passed Taka. The health of the slave, however, is always attended to; he is regularly fed, and receives his share of water on the road at the same time that his master drinks; and the youngest and most delicate of the females are permitted to ride upon camels, while all the others perform the journey on foot, whether it be to Egypt or to Souakin, as they had done from Darfour to Shendy. The hardiness of the young slaves is very extraordinary; after several successive days' march at the rate of ten or twelve hours a day, I have seen them, in the evening, after supper, playing together as if they had enjoyed a long rest. Females with children on their backs follow the caravan on foot; and if a camel breaks down the owner generally loads his slaves with the packages. If a boy can only obtain in the evening a little butter with his dhourra bread, and some grease every two or three days, to smear his body and hair, he is contented, and never complains of fatigue. Another cause which induces the merchants to treat the slaves well, is their anxiety to dissipate that horror which the negroes all entertain of Egypt and of the white people. It is a common opinion in the black slave countries that the Oulad-er-Rif,* or children of Rif, as the Egyptians are there called, devour the slaves, who are transferred thither for that purpose.† Of course the traders do every thing in their power to destroy this belief, but notwithstanding all their endeavors, it is never eradicated from the minds of the slaves. Another terrible apprehension which they have is of a small jumping animal, which they are told will live upon their skin, suck their blood, and leave them not a moment's rest. By this description they mean fleas, which are entirely unknown in the interior parts of Soudan, and of which the most curious stories are told by the people of the country, in enumerating the superior advantages of their own country over those of Egypt. Other vermin however, more to be dreaded than fleas, are too common among them. The fear of being mutilated on their arrival in Egypt operates powerfully also upon the minds of the young slaves.

* Rif is the name given to Egypt throughout those countries; it means properly a low ground, abounding in water.

† A curious proof of this happened while I was in Upper Egypt; a great man who had bought two girls at Siout from the Darfour caravan, soon afterwards made a party with some friends to spend an afternoon in the cool caves in the mountain behind Siout, and ordered the two girls to attend him. When they entered the caves they immediately conceived it to be the place destined for their immolation; and when the knives were produced to cut the meat that had been brought for dinner, one of them ran off, and endeavored to escape, while the other threw herself on the ground, imploring the company to spare her. It required a considerable time to convince them that their fears were ill-founded.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Slave boys are always allowed complete liberty within the yard of the house; but the grown up males, whose characters cannot be depended upon, or whose dispositions are unknown, are kept in close confinement, well watched, and often chained. On the journey they are tied to a long pole, one end of which is fastened to a camel's saddle, and the other, which is forked, is passed on each side of the slave's neck, and tied behind with a strong cord, so as to prevent him from drawing out his head; in addition to this, his right hand is also fastened to the pole at a short distance from the head, thus leaving only his legs and left arm at liberty; in this manner he marches the whole day behind the camel; at night he is taken from the pole and put in irons. While on my route to Souakin, I saw several slaves carried along in this way. Their owners were afraid of their escaping, or of becoming themselves the objects of their vengeance: and in this manner they would continue to be confined until sold to a master, who, intending to keep them, would endeavor to attach them to his person. In general, the traders seem greatly to dread the effects of sudden resentment in their slaves; and if a grown up boy is only to be whipped, his master first puts him in irons.

"It is not uncommon to hear of a slave-dealer selling his own children, born of negro women; and instances occur daily of their disposing of female slaves who are pregnant by them; in such cases, the future child of course becomes the property of the purchaser. Most of the traders have old slaves, who have been for many years in their service; these are placed over the young slaves bought in trade, and become very useful in travelling; but even these too I have seen their masters sell, after they had become members as it were of the family, merely because a high price was offered for them. It is in vain to expect in a slave-trader any trace of friendship, gratitude, or compassion.

"Slave girls are every where thirty per cent. dearer than males of the same age. They are called in these countries khademe and not djarye, as in Egypt. The finest of them are kept by the traders themselves, and are called serrye; their masters allow these girls great liberty, which they often abuse. It is falsely asserted by the caravan traders in Egypt, that it is a custom among them to respect the chastity of the handsomest female slaves; on the contrary, the traders do not observe the slightest decorum in their intercourse with the slave girls. During our journey to Souakin, where the caravan often encamped, on account of the apprehension of danger, in one large circle, I frequently witnessed scenes of the most shameless indecency, which the traders, who were the principal actors, only laughed at. I may venture to state (whatever may be the opinion at Cairo,) that very few female

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slaves who have passed their tenth year, reach Egypt or Arabia in a state of virginity. The grandees, and rich people of those countries, take care never to buy grown up females from the traders, except for servants; but they often purchase very young girls, whom they educate among their women."

"Slavery, in the East, has little dreadful in it but the name; male slaves are every where treated much like the children of the family, and always better than the free servants. It is thought a mean action to sell a slave, after he has been long resident in a family. If a slave behave ill, he is generally sent into the country to work as a laborer in the fields of his master. Female slaves who are servants in families, are not so well off as males, because they generally suffer much from the jealousy of their mistresses. It is only by the Turkish soldiers that slaves are ill-treated. They purchase, in Upper Egypt, slave boys, whom they rear in their service, and who, after they have come to a certain age, and learned the Turkish language, are clothed and armed as soldiers, and enlisted into the company or corps of which their master is the chief. He then draws the monthly pay of his slave from the governor, as he does that of every other soldier; for, according to the regulations of the Turkish army, the captain, or Binbashy, receives the pay for the number of men whom he has under his command, and distributes it among them. It thus becomes a source of emolument to him to enrol slaves, to whose services the government never objects, and whose pay goes into his own pocket, as he is subject only to the obligation of feeding and clothing them. Great numbers of black soldiers have, in this manner, been introduced into the Turkish army in Egypt; it was even thought that Mohammed Aly Pasha had formed the plan of organizing a body of black troops, and drilling them according to the European manner; but the great dislike to this innovation expressed by his principal officers, appears to have made him abandon it. At present, from six to eight hundred slaves are bought up annually by the Turkish officers in Egypt.

"In the southern countries, a slave brought up in the family (I do not here speak of the traders) thinks himself superior to every other person in it except the master: he is admitted to all the family councils, is allowed to trade, or to engage in any other business on his own account, and to do just as he pleases, provided he proves a bold fellow, and in case of emergency can wield a sword in his master's defence; he may then misbehave at pleasure, without the fear of punishment. If a slave kill a free man, his master is obliged to pay the price of blood, otherwise his own family becomes exposed to the retaliation of the relations of the slain; for the death of a slave who commits murder is not deemed a sufficient atonement for the blood of a free man.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"In Arabia and Egypt, the law gives to the slaves one great advantage; if they are discontented with their master, and decidedly determined not to remain with him, they have the right of insisting upon being sent to the public slave market, to be resold. The owner may at first refuse to part with his slave, but if, having overcome the fear of exposing himself to the effects of his master's rage, the slave find an opportunity of making his demand, in presence of respectable witnesses, and persevere in this conduct, he must at last effect his purpose. Some slaves are less able to take advantage of this privilege, which the law grants to all, from being shut up in the harem, where no one hears their complaints except those who are the cause of them.

"According to the most moderate calculation, the number of slaves actually in Egypt is forty thousand, two thirds of which number are males, and the rest females. There is hardly a village in which several of them are not found, and every person of property keeps at least one. During the plague in the spring of 1815, upwards of eight thousand slaves were reported to the government to have died in Cairo alone. I have reason to believe, however, that the numbers exported from Soudan to Egypt and Arabia, bear only a small proportion to those kept by the Mussulmans of the southern countries themselves, or in other words to the whole number yearly derived by purchase, or by force, from the nations in the interior of Africa. At Berber and Shendy there is scarcely a house which does not possess one or two slaves, and five or six are frequently seen in the same family, occupied in the labors of the field, tending cattle, &c. &c.; the great people and chiefs keep them by dozens. As high up the Nile as Sennaar the same system prevails, as well as westward to Kordofan, Darfour, and thence towards Bournou. All the Bedouin tribes also who surround those countries, are well stocked with slaves. If we may judge of their numbers by those kept on the borders of the Nile, (and I was assured by the traders, that slaves were more numerous in those distant countries than even at Shendy,) it is evident that the number exported towards Egypt, Arabia, and Barbary, is very greatly below what remains within the limits of Soudan. From what fell under my own observation at Berber and Shendy, I believe that the slaves of both sexes on the borders of the Nile from Berber to Sennaar, amount to not less than twelve thousand. As the population of Darfour, according to Mr. Browne, is two hundred thousand, there are probably twenty thousand slaves in that kingdom; and every account agrees in proving, that as we proceed farther westward into the populous countries of Derr, Saley, Bournou, Bagermé, and the kingdoms of Afnou and Haoussa, the proportion of the slave population does not diminish.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The laudable efforts made in Europe, and particularly by England, to abolish the slave-trade, will, no doubt, in time, extend a beneficial influence over the negro countries of Western and South-western Africa, whence slaves have hitherto been drawn for the supply of the European traders; but there does not appear to be the smallest hope of the abolition of slavery in Africa itself. Were all the outlets of Soudan closed to the slave-trade, and the caravans which now carry on the traffic with Barbary, Egypt, and Arabia, prevented from procuring further supplies, still slavery would universally prevail in Soudan itself; for as long as those countries are possessed by Mussulmans, whose religion induces them to make war upon the idolatrous negroes, whose domestic wants require a constant supply of servants and shepherds, and who, considering slaves as a medium of exchange in lieu of money, are as eager to obtain them as other nations might be to explore the African mines, slavery must continue to exist in the heart of Africa; nor can it cease, until the negroes shall become possessed of the means of repelling the attacks and resisting the oppression of their Mussulman neighbors. It is not from foreign nations that the blacks can hope for deliverance; this great work must be effected by themselves, and can be the result only of successful resistance. The European governments, who have settlements on the coasts of Africa, may contribute to it by commerce, and by the introduction among the negroes of arts and industry, which must ultimately lead them to a superiority over the Mussulmans in war. Europe, therefore, will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave-trade, which is trifling, when compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan, tending to the civilization of the continent. None presents a fairer prospect than the education of the sons of Africa in their own country, and by their own countrymen, previously educated by Europeans. Faint hopes, however, can be entertained that the attention of European governments will be turned towards the remote and despised negroes, while selfishness and a mistaken policy have prevented them from attending to the instruction of their own poor."

We shall now add a few miscellaneous extracts, which struck us as interesting. The following illustrates the singular idea entertained in Egypt and Nubia of the motives of European travellers, in exploring the numerous remains of ancient architecture to be found in those countries.

"While inspecting the interior apartments of this temple with a lighted candle, for they receive no light but what is communicated through the outer gate, I was joined in the adytum by the Shikh

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Gyrshe, who had hurried after me, on seeing us take the road to the building. He begged me to give him half the treasure I had found, or at least, a handful; but he was obliged to be contented with a piece of wax candle. He shewed me the place where the Englishmen (Messrs. Legh and Smelt,) who had been here before me, found, as he asserted, an immense treasure, with which they loaded their vessel; one of the peasants had seen the gold! Similar tales are often spread abroad; every peasant swears to their truth; and singular as it may appear, all the inhabitants of Egypt, notwithstanding the long residence of the French in that country, and the continual passage of travellers, are still persuaded that the ancient temples are visited for no other purpose than to search for treasure."

To shew the cheapness of land carriage in countries in which camels are bred in large numbers, Burckhardt observes that the carriage for a camel load of goods, weighing from six to seven hundred English pounds, from Bagdad to Aleppo, a distance of six hundred miles, is £4.

He strips the Simoom or Semoum, the poisonous wind of the desert, of most of its terrors.

"I again inquired, as I had often done before, whether my companions had often experienced the Semoum (which we translate by the poisonous blast of the desert, but which is nothing more than a violent south-east wind.) They answered in the affirmative, but none had ever known an instance of its having proved fatal. Its worst effect is that it dries up the water in the skins, and so far it endangers the traveller's safety. In these southern countries, however, water skins are made of very thick cow-leather, which are almost impenetrable to the Semoum. In Arabia and Egypt, on the contrary, the skins of sheep or goats are used for this purpose, and I witnessed the effect of a Semoum upon them, in going from Tor to Suez over land in June, 1815, when in one morning a third of the contents of a full water skin was evaporated. I have repeatedly been exposed to the hot wind, in the Syrian and Arabian deserts, in Upper Egypt and Nubia. The hottest and most violent I ever experienced was at Souakin, yet even there I felt no particular inconvenience from it, although exposed to all its fury in the open plain. For my own part I am perfectly convinced, that all the stories which travellers or the inhabitants of the towns of Egypt and Syria relate of the Semoum of the desert, are greatly exaggerated, and I never could hear of a single well authenticated instance of its having proved mortal either to man or beast. The fact is that the Bedouins, when questioned on the subject, often frighten the townspeople with tales of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men, and even of whole caravans having perished by the effects of the wind, when upon closer inqury made by some person, whom they find not ignorant of the desert, they will state the plain truth. I never observed that the Semoum blows close to the ground, as commonly supposed, but always observed the whole atmosphere appear as if in a state of combustion; the dust and sand are carried high into the air, which assumes a reddish, or bluish, or yellowish tint, according to the nature and color of the ground, from which the dust arises. The yellow, however, always more or less predominates. In looking through a glass of a light yellow color, one may form a pretty correct idea of the appearance of the air, as I observed it during a stormy Semoum at Esne, in Upper Egypt, in May, 1813. The Semoum is not always accompanied by whirlwinds; in its less violent degree it will blow for hours with little force, although with oppressive heat; when the whirlwind raises the dust, it then increases several degrees in heat. In the Semoum at Esne the thermometer mounted to 121° in the shade, but the air seldom remains longer than a quarter of an hour in that state, or longer than the whirlwind lasts. The most disagreeable effect of the Semoum on man is, that it stops perspiration, dries up the palate, and produces great restlessness. I never saw any person lie down flat upon his face to escape its pernicious blast, as Bruce describes himself to have done in crossing this desert; but during the whirlwinds the Arabs often hide their faces with their cloaks, and kneel down near their camels to prevent the sand or dust from hurting their eyes."

He does not appear to put full faith in the destructive effects ascribed to whirlwinds of sand.

"Bruce has mentioned the moving pillars of sands in this desert, but although none such occurred during my passage, I do not presume to question his veracity on this head. The Arabs told me that there are often whirlwinds of sand, and I have repeatedly passed through districts of moving sands, which the slightest wind can raise; I remember to have seen columns of sands moving about like water spouts in the desert on the banks of the Euphrates, and have seen at Jaka terrible effects from a sudden wind; I therefore very easily credit their occasional appearance in the Nubian desert, although I doubt of their endangering the safety of travellers."

In speaking of the coins in use at Shendy, he observes, "Of dollars those only are current that are coined in Spain, and have the inscription Carolus IV. These numerals or lines must be visible on the dollar to make it pass at its full value. They say that the dollars with Carolus III. must be of less

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

value, because they have only three lines, whence they are estimated at one sixth below the real value."

Burckhardt's white skin attracted great attention in the black countries through which he travelled.

"My appearance on this occasion, as on many others, excited a universal shriek of surprise and horror, especially among the women, who were not a little terrified at seeing such an outcast of nature as they consider a white man to be, peeping into their huts, and asking for a little water or milk. The chief feeling which my appearance inspired I could easily perceive to be disgust, for the negroes are all firmly persuaded that the whiteness of the skin is the effect of disease, and a sign of weakness; and there is not the least doubt, that a white man is looked upon by them as a being greatly inferior to themselves. At Shendy the inhabitants were more accustomed to the sight, if not of white men, at least of the light-brown natives of Arabia; and as my skin was much sunburnt, I there excited little surprise. On the market days, however, I often terrified people, by turning short upon them, when their exclamation generally was: 'God preserve us from the devil!' One day, after bargaining for some onions with a country girl in the market at Shendy, she told me, that if I would take off my turban and shew her my head, she would give me five more onions; I insisted upon having eight, which she gave me; when I removed my turban she started back at the sight of my white closely shaven crown, and when I jocularly asked her whether she should like to have a husband with such a head, she expressed the greatest surprise and disgust, and swore that she would rather live with the ugliest Darfour slave."

The effect of a hurricane in the desert is thus described.

"Towards evening we were visited by another hurricane, the most tremendous I ever remember to have witnessed. A dark blue cloud first appeared, extending to about 25° above the horizon; as it approached nearer, and increased in height, it assumed an ash gray color with a tinge of yellow, striking every person in the caravan, who had not been accustomed to such phenomena, with amazement at its magnificent and terrific appearance; as the cloud approached still nearer, the yellow tinge became more general, while the horizon presented the brightest azure. At last, it burst upon us in its rapid course, and involved us in darkness and confusion; nothing could be distinguished at the distance of five or six feet; our eyes were filled with dust; our temporary sheds were blown down at the first gust, and many of the more firmly fixed tents of the Hadendoa followed; the largest withstood for a time the force of the blast, but were at last obliged to yield, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the whole camp was levelled with the ground. In the mean time the terrified camels arose, broke the cords by which they were fastened, and endeavored to escape from the destruction which appeared to threaten them, thus adding not a little to our own embarrassment. After blowing about half an hour with incessant violence, the wind suddenly abated, and when the atmosphere became clear, the tremendous cloud was seen continuing its havoc to the north-west. Similar hurricanes frequently happen at this time of the year, their consequences, however, are never more disastrous than what I have just detailed; in a few minutes the tents were raised, and every thing was again put in order."

The consumption of water in travelling through the desert is very great.

"No idea can be formed by Europeans of the quantity of water necessary for drinking, cooking, and washing during a journey through these countries, but more particularly to allay the thirst of the traveller, whose palate is continually parched by the effects of the fiery ground and air, who has been confined perhaps for several days to a short allowance of water, and who lives upon food which, consisting of farinaceous preparations and butter, is calculated to excite thirst in the greatest degree. It is a general custom in the caravans in these parts, as well as in the Arabian deserts, never to drink, except when the whole caravan halts for a few minutes for that purpose; the time of doing this is, in the slave caravans, about nine o'clock in the morning, and twice during the afternoon's march, namely, about four and six o'clock. In the forenoon, also, every one drinks at the halting of the caravan, and again after the meal; and the same rule is observed in the evening. To drink while others do not, exposes a man to be considered effeminate, and to the opprobrious saying, that 'his mouth is tied to that of the water skin.'—And it is otherwise imprudent, as the opening of his water-skin at an unusual time subjects the traveller to importunities which it is not always prudent to reject; but none thinks of asking such a favor when the whole caravan halts to drink. Those who have many slaves fill the large wooden bowl in which dinner is served up, and place it upon the ground, when the slaves kneel down and drink out of it half a dozen times, as cattle do out of a trough; this is done to prevent the waste of water that would be occasioned by each having a separate allowance. Travellers in these journeys drink a great quantity of water when it is plentiful; I do not exaggerate when I say that I have often drunk in the afternoon, at one draught, as much as would fill two common water-bottles. To drink three or four times a day is considered short allowance; few

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Blacks and Arabs, when water is abundant, drink less than six or seven times daily; but when the S. E. wind blows, no quantity is sufficient to keep the mouth moist, and one wishes to drink every quarter of an hour. The stories related by the Bedouins to the town's-people, of their remaining often two or three days in the desert without drinking, are mere fables. In all parts of Nubia, at least in the caravan routes, travellers can never be in very great distress for want of water, if the wells are not dried up. The only portions of the road, of any length, without water, are from Goz Radjeb to Sennaar, and from the frontiers of Kordofan to Shendy. Yet the Black traders often suffer from want of water, even where the wells are near, because their avarice leads them to load their camels so heavily with merchandise, that they have no room for a plentiful supply of water. The usual computation is that a middling sized skin or Gerbé, holding about fifty or sixty pounds of water, will serve a man for three days, if he is alone, or four men for one day, if they mess together."

We come now to the work of Rüppell.

Dr. Edward Rüppell appears to be a traveller of much respectability. The death of both his parents, in his seventeenth year, interrupted his studies, and made it necessary for him to prepare himself for commercial pursuits. On attaining his majority he came into possession of some property, and was enabled to follow his inclinations; and in the year 1817, when he was about twenty-one years old, he made an excursion into Egypt and Arabia, for his amusement. At this time he formed the idea of exploring at leisure the north-eastern part of Africa. He returned to Europe in 1818, and after employing himself for some years in acquiring the necessary knowledge, obtaining astronomical instruments, &c., he returned in 1822 to Egypt, with a young physician, Dr. Hey; and was occupied until the middle of the year 1826 with excursions in Nubia, Kordofan and Arabia. In the autumn of that year he went to Cairo, and was obliged in consequence of his impaired health to return to Europe in May, 1827. The book before us contains the results of his observations during that period. We believe that he has since been engaged in another expedition to the same regions.

His statements agree with those of Burckhardt, and he visited some parts of Nubia into which Burckhardt did not penetrate. Among these is Dongola, a province on the Nile, five or six degrees south of Egypt, and under the government of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mohammed Ali, sovereign of Egypt. From his account of the people of this district, we extract the following notices.

The inhabitants of Dongola may be divided into two classes:—First, Barabra or Berbers, the descendants of the ancient Ethiopians; and, second, Arab tribes from the Hedjaz, (Arabia Petræa.) The features of the Barabra resemble those which are found on the colossal statues and bas-reliefs of the ancient temples and monuments, still extant in their country. A long oval face, a well curved nose, somewhat rounded toward the end, rather thick but not disagreeably projecting lips, retreating chin, thin beard, lively eyes, thick curled but not woolly hair, symmetrical figures of a moderate size, and a bronzed complexion, characterize this people.

The Arabs are mostly employed in raising cattle and pass a nomadic life in tents. Some tribes, however, live in permanent habitations, and practise agriculture.

Both among the Barabra and the Arabs, a large cotton cloth thrown over the shoulders and loins, and full of dirt and grease, constitutes the whole covering of the men. Their hair, twisted into small braids, hangs dripping with butter down their necks. They wear sandals, of which the soles and thongs consist of but one piece of leather. Every one carries a short knife fastened to his left arm above the elbow, with some written amulets in a leather case; sometimes a pair of iron pincers to extract splinters, and a hollowed piece of buck's horn, containing crocodile's musk, and other strong smelling ingredients, which is occasionally applied to the nose to excite a pleasant sensation.

The Berber, when he goes to the field, is armed with a straight broadsword of German manufacture, imported by the way of Egypt. The Arab carries this weapon at all times, usually accompanied by two lances, and an oblong black shield prepared from the skin of the Antelope Leucorix.

The women wear a white cotton cloth with broad red stripes about the border; this is thrown over their shoulders: their ornaments are thick silver rings in their ears and noses. Some few persons of distinction have them of gold. The wealthy have also silver clasps on their arms and legs, and silver bells adorned with coral in their hair, which hangs in braids over their shoulders and bosoms. Their neck and temples are adorned with beads and pieces of amber; silver rings sometimes containing carnelians are much in fashion. The beauties redden their nails and the inside of their hands with henna leaves, and blacken their lips and eye-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lids with powder of antimony. Girls, till the time of their marriage, wear an apron of leather tassels, and sometimes throw a cotton cloth over their shoulders. About their loins they wear a girdle, with pieces of carnelian an inch long attached thereto. Boys, till their tenth year, go entirely naked. They then put a rag round their loins.

The Barabra are principally engaged in agriculture. The land all requires artificial irrigation. The water is raised by means of wheels turned by cattle. The people are most oppressively taxed and extremely poor. Their food is often only boiled bean leaves with a little seasoning, sour milk and bread made of dhourra, (millet). They have the intoxicating bouza already described. In many parts of the country they taste flesh only on the occasion of the death of some person of distinction, when a cow is killed in honor of him.

The unsettled state of the country for the last fifty years, has induced them to substitute straw huts for houses built of sun-dried bricks. The frame of these huts consists of slender posts, and the interstices are filled with great mats of straw, or with bundles of long dhourra stalks. These huts can be easily removed when the termites or white ants become intolerable, as is frequently the case.

The adult male Barabra pass their lives in the greatest indolence, excepting some mechanics employed in weaving, manufacturing iron, or in making boats and water-wheels, and these labor only two or three hours a-day. The women are more occupied; they must cut, thresh, and grind the grain, bake the bread, bring the water, and clean and spin the cotton. The same licentiousness prevails in Dongola, which Burckhardt has described as existing in other parts of southern Nubia.

The administration of justice is almost entirely in the hands of the Turkish military officers, who decide according to their pleasure.

In almost every village there is a fakir; that is, a person able to read and write and well acquainted with the usages of the Mohammedan religion. The fakir does not engage in agriculture, but lives on the contributions of his neighbors, in return for which he is bound to instruct the boys in reading and writing, and also in prayer and the other duties of religion. The fakirs derive considerable profit from writing amulets or charms, of which almost every Berber has half a dozen. These are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even hung on horses or attached to particular pieces of land, to guard them against the evil eye or the ravages of the Hippopotamus. The Arab tribes, residing among the people of Dongola, are much like those described by Burckhardt.

The following extract will serve to illustrate the state of the Nubian provinces under the government of Mohammed Ali, the sovereign of Egypt.

"When I visited the province of Shendy, in the winter of 1824, it had just been reduced anew by the army of Mohammed Bey. Unheard of cruelties were perpetrated to avenge the death of Ismail Pasha. At Matemma, a thousand helpless women and children were butchered with knives in cold blood, after they had received a promise of pardon. At Shendy the Turks shut up all whom they could seize, in several large buildings to which they set fire, and their victims perished in the flames. Impalement, mutilating, and burning were the order of the day.

"Ismail Pasha's death was the consequence of his own rashness and brutality. About the end of October, 1822, on his return from Sennaar to Cairo, he arrived at Shendy in a boat accompanied by a few Mamelukes. Nemir, the Mek or governor of the place, received him as his sovereign, when Ismail astounded him by demanding a tribute of a thousand slaves, to be delivered within two days. On Nemir's replying that it was impossible, he threatened him with impalement if the order were not punctually executed. There was little time for reflection. Nemir prevailed on the Pasha to leave his bark and take up his abode in a house, where he might devote himself to pleasure more conveniently. Around this house he collected a great quantity of millet. straw, under the pretence of supplying fodder for the horses presented to the Pasha. Towards evening the people of Shendy rose in insurrection. The half inebriated Pasha being called upon by his followers to retire, is said to have answered, — 'I am the son of Mohammed Ali; who dares touch a hair of my head?' Meanwhile Nemir set the straw on fire; all avenues to escape were barred, and the Pasha and his train perished in flame and smoke. The whole district then rebelled against the Turks. Mohammed Bey, governor of Kordofan, hastened to avenge the death of his brother-in-law. Nemir rashly met him in the field with undisciplined troops destitute of fire-arms, and was totally routed. Mohammed Bey then burned Shendy, and exterminated its inhabitants. The town of Matemma, which lay opposite to it, experienced a like fate."

In his description of the province of Kordofan, Rüppell states, that since 1820 the Turks have been masters of it. They exer-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cise the most arbitrary tyranny over the plain country, and every year systematic forays are made on the Nouba who inhabit the mountains. Their settlements are surrounded, and if the inhabitants do not escape by flight, they are carried off into slavery. It is calculated that about two-thirds of these wretched captives perish before reaching Cairo, on account of the total neglect which they suffer. Of the forty thousand persons whom the Turks have thus torn from their homes, there are not five thousand at present alive in Egypt.

Rüppell says that the fishermen and hippopotamus hunters form a particular caste in Dongola. Their mode of taking the crocodile is as follows. The most favorable season is the winter, when the animal sleeps on land in the sun, or in the spring after its eggs have been deposited in the sand, when the creature often comes to visit them. The hunter marks the spot and makes a hole near it, throwing up the sand towards the side on which he expects the crocodile. There he conceals himself. The crocodile, if he does not observe the man, comes to the place and soon falls asleep in the hot sunshine. The hunter now strikes him a violent blow with a harpoon. The iron must penetrate at least four inches that the barb may hold. The crocodile hurries to the water, and the hunter to his boat, which a companion urges towards him. A piece of wood, fastened to the harpoon by a long rope, floats and shows the course which the crocodile takes. The hunters seize the rope and drag the animal to the surface of the water, where it is assailed anew. The chief difficulty is, to thrust the lance with sufficient force to pierce the creature's rocky hide. The crocodile is not idle, but strikes violent blows with his tail, and seeks to bite off the rope which holds the harpoon. To guard against this, it is composed of about thirty small cords which are bound together at intervals of two feet. These cords slide between the crocodile's teeth and elude its attempts. The harpoon, however, often drags through the flesh, and the animal escapes. "If I had not seen it myself," says Rüppell, "it would appear to me incredible, that two men could drag a crocodile fourteen feet long out of the water, bind together its jaws, fasten its legs together over its back, and finally kill it by thrusting a sharp iron into its neck, which divides the spinal marrow. The flesh and fat are a favorite food of the Berbers, but have a strong taste of musk."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The hippopotamus hunters attack their game both by day and night. They prefer the day, however, because they can then more easily escape from the animal's fury. They use a harpoon attached to a long rope, at the other end of which is a thick piece of wood, which, floating on the water, enables them to discover by daylight a beast which has been attacked by night. The hunter takes the harpoon and part of the rope in one hand, in the other he carries the remainder of the rope with the log of wood attached to it, and cautiously approaches his prey by daylight when asleep on a small island, or watches by night on the bank where he hopes the animal will land, in order to ravage the fields of grain. When he has arrived within the proper distance, (about seven paces) he throws the harpoon, which, if skilfully sent, penetrates the thick skin and sinks beyond the barb. The wounded animal usually flies to the water and conceals himself below its surface, the wooden shaft of the harpoon falls out, but the piece of wood attached by the rope to the iron head, indicates the direction which he takes. The hunter's greatest danger is that of being discovered before he throws the harpoon, in which case the beast sometimes rushes furiously on him and crushes him at once in his huge jaws, an instance of which Rüppell says happened during his residence at Shendy. As soon as the harpoon has taken effect, the hunters hasten to their little boat and carefully approach the floating wood, to which they fasten a long and strong rope, and carry the end of it to the large bark containing their companions, which follows them. The hunters now pull on the rope. The pain of the barb excites the fury of the animal, and as soon as he sees the bark he rushes on it, seizes it with his teeth and sometimes succeeds in crushing or overturning it. The hunters now throw four or six harpoons into him, and exert all their strength to drag him close to the side of the bark, so as to obstruct his efforts, and strive with a long sharp iron to separate the ligament of the neck or to pierce the skull. On account of the bulk of the animal, they cut him up in the water after he is killed, and drag the separate pieces to land. Only one or two hippopotamuses are killed yearly in the Turkish province of Dongola. The meat of the young animal is agreeable food. That of the old ones is apt to be too fat. The quantity of their flesh is considered equal to that of four or five oxen. The hide is used chiefly for making whips, and each

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one yields from three hundred and fifty to five hundred. The teeth are not used.

Rüppell, in the years 1821 and 1823, was personally engaged in the capture of these animals.

"One of them, a very large male, appeared to have reached his full dimensions. He measured from the snout to the end of the tail nearly fourteen feet and a half, and his tusks, measured along the outer curve, were above twenty-eight inches long. He cost us a struggle of four hours by night, and came near destroying our bark. He discerned the hunters in the small boat when they were about to fasten the long rope to the piece of wood attached to the harpoon, rushed on them, dragged the boat under water and crushed it to pieces. The men hardly escaped. Of twenty-five musket balls shot into the head of the monster at a distance of about five feet, only one penetrated his skin and lodged in the bone near his nose. At every breath the animal now snorted streams of blood upon the bark. We were finally obliged to resort to a swivel, which we had supposed it unnecessary to use at so short a distance; and it was not until five of its balls had been fired at the distance of a few feet, and had made hideous breaches in his head and body, that the giant gave up the ghost. The darkness of the night increased our danger. The huge beast dragged our bark with ease in every direction, and was killed at a very critical moment, for the vessel had become involved in a labyrinth of rocks, which none had observed in the confusion. Hippopotamuses of this size cannot be killed by the natives alone for want of ordnance. The voracity of these animals makes them scourges of the districts in which they are found. The inhabitants have no means of keeping them out of their grounds. All which they do is to sound a small trumpet during the night, and keep up fires at different places. In some districts the creatures cannot be driven off, unless a large body of men armed with sticks assail them with shouts."

A meteorological phenomenon, which our traveller observed in passing from Suez to Cairo, is thus described.

"It was on the 22d of May, 1822, at a distance of about seven leagues from Cairo, in the desert, that we experienced a violen. south wind, of which travellers have told so many absurd stories. A light breeze from the north-east had blown during the night. Soon after sun-rise a strong wind arose from the south-south-west, and gradually increased to a violent storm. Clouds of dust filled the air, in such a manner that a camel could not be seen at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the distance of fifty paces in any direction. Along the surface a rustling was perceptible, which I attributed to the rolling of the sand driven by the wind. The parts of our bodies exposed to the wind were unusually hot, and we experienced a singular smart resembling the pricking of fine needles, which was accompanied with a peculiar sound. I supposed at first that the pain was owing to small stones being driven against us by the wind. To judge of their size, I attempted to catch some of them in a cap, but found with surprise that none of them entered it. I now observed, for the first time, that the painful feeling in the skin did not proceed from particles of stone striking against it, but from some invisible power which I could compare only to a current of electric fluid. I now began to observe accurately the appearances around me. I saw that our hair was somewhat raised, that the sensation in the skin was particularly perceptible at the joints and extremities, as if I had experienced an electrical shock on an isolated stool. To convince myself that the sensation did not proceed from particles of stone or sand, I held a piece of paper against the wind. Every particle of stone or sand, or even dust, which should strike the paper, I knew would be detected by the ear or the eye, but none were to be discovered. I now stretched out my arms, and immediately the prickly pain increased at the ends of my fingers. These observations convinced me that the violent wind, called in Egypt, Camseen, is either accompanied by a strong electrical current, or gives rise to such a current by the motion of the sand in the desert. Hence the thick clouds of dust, consisting of isolated atoms of sand, darken the sun for a whole day in a cloudless sky. We may conjecture that such a storm, by its electrical character, may prove injurious to a caravan, and this may explain the destruction of caravans in the desert, related by some travellers: although I must say, that I never heard of such accidents in the countries through which I have travelled. At any rate, to suppose that caravans have perished by being overwhelmed with sand, is in the highest degree ludicrous."

Rüppell devotes a chapter to the fever, which has proved so fatal to travellers and settlers in Africa. From this we extract the following observations. His opportunities of investigating the disease and his success in escaping it, entitle them to attention.

"The *sogene* of the Arabs, or the hot fever of the tropical regions of Africa, attacks both natives and foreigners, and adults

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of all ages, but seems to spare children. It begins with a violent headache and a dry heat over the whole body, together with a distressing thirst. Pains in the loins, great irritability, and other common symptoms of fever also accompany it, but the characteristic marks of the disease Rüppell professes himself unable to state. On the third day the patient experiences a dreadful depression, and anticipates the rapid approach of death, his reason soon becomes impaired, unbroken delirium follows, and on the ninth day death ensues. If the attack is comparatively mild or proper remedies are seasonably used, the violent fever is succeeded about the ninth day by a tertian intermittent fever, which is very obstinate and greatly reduces the patient, but is not of itself usually fatal. This disorder appears regularly in the tropical countries, containing large rivers or other extended bodies of water, especially in the hot season when the wind is still, during the period of the summer rains. It is not epidemic, but is nevertheless confined to these countries, so that removal to the dry desert plains is a well known and sure mode of avoiding it. This shews that the state of the atmosphere in those regions, which are full of water, stagnating under a hot sun, has a great influence in producing the disease. But this cannot be the only cause, otherwise the fever would prevail more extensively. Some other cause must introduce the seeds of the disorder which are then rapidly developed under the influence of the corrupted atmosphere. This cause Rüppell considers to be the presence of *animalculæ* in the water used for drinking. In regions in which, during the warm season, the temperature remains for months between 95 and 104 degrees, (Fahrenheit), and the difference of temperature between day and night is only about four and a half degrees, all stagnant water exposed to the sun must become filled in a few days with *animalculæ*, which will be more abundant in proportion to the amount of dead plants and animals in contact with the water. Rüppell gives several instances in which he himself or the persons in his company were attacked with fever after drinking water in this state. Considering the disorder, therefore, to originate in the use of stagnant water, and to derive its violence from the corrupt state of the atmosphere, Rüppell took his measures accordingly to guard against it.

To destroy the *animalculæ*, he caused all the water procured for the use of his company to be boiled, except such as came

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from running streams, or such as had a naturally saline taste, which shewed it to be free from these creatures; and when he was in the neighborhood of rivers, after they had overflowed, he was careful to make his servants obtain water from the stream itself, and not from the stagnant pools along its banks. During the hot season he avoided all residence in districts exposed to the evaporation of stagnant water, and never passed the rainy season within the tropics. Where cases of fever took place in spite of his precautions, he resorted immediately to large doses of quinine, (extract of Peruvian bark,) accompanied with a strict regimen, and followed by the use of bitter extracts during the period of convalescence. He himself, in one instance, took twelve grains of quinine divided into six doses during the course of twenty-four hours. As crudities are seldom present at the commencement of the fever, he condemns the use of emetics as occasioning a loss of time and exhausting the patient. The prevalence of the disorder was well-known to the people of the northern tropical regions of Africa, to be proportionate to the number and violence of the summer rains. Notwithstanding the fatalism of the Mohammedans, they now use as a remedy in this disorder, a bitter black resin, which flows from the trunk of the acacia sazal in summer.

But it is time to close this article. We have extended it to its present length, under the impression that our readers would not be uninterested in the description of a country, cursed indeed at present with ignorance, poverty, tyranny and vice, but whose gigantic and beautiful monuments speak of a civilization which preceded the dawn of authentic history, and shed lustre on the shores of the Red Sea, while thick darkness brooded over the coasts of the Mediterranean.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART. X. — *Popular Education.*

1. *Rapport sur l'état de l'Instruction Publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne et particulièrement en Prusse.* Par M. VICTOR COUSIN, Conseiller d'Etat, Professeur de Philosophie, Membre de l'Institut et du Conseil Royal de l'Instruction Publique. 2 vols. 4to. Paris. 1832.

2. *Etat de l'Instruction primaire dans le Royaume de Prusse à la fin de l'Année*, 1835. *Supplément au Rapport sur l'Instruction Publique en Prusse.* Par le même. 8vo. Paris. 1835.

3. *Rapport fait à la Chambre des Pairs par M. Cousin au nom d'une Commission spéciale chargeé de l'examen du Projet de loi sur l'Instruction Primaire.* Séance du 21 Mai. Paris. 1835.

4. *Rapport fait à la Chambre des Pairs par M. Cousin au nom d'une Commission spéciale chargeé de l'examen du Projet de loi sur l'Instruction primaire amendé par la Chambre des Deputés.* Séance du 22 Juin. Paris. 1835.

5. *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia; addressed to the Count Montalivet, Peer of France, Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs.* By M. VICTOR COUSIN, Peer of France, Counsellor of State, Professor of Philosophy, Member of the Institute and of the Royal Council of Public Instruction; with Plans of School-Houses. Translated by SARAH AUSTIN. 12mo. New York. 1835.

6. *Report of the Committee of Education of the Massachusetts Legislature upon so much of the Governor's Address at the opening of the Session of* 1835, *as relates to the School Fund; including an outline of the Prussian System of Education.* Boston. 1835.

WE have for some time past intended to call the attention of our readers to the publications of Professor Cousin upon the the state of education in Germany, and we are glad to be re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minded of this intention, by the republication, at New York, of Miss Austin's well digested abridgement of them. This has been executed under the direction of the distinguished author, and offers in a small duodecimo, and in a very correct and elegant English dress, the most valuable portion of the contents of the two large quartos which compose the original. The name and character of M. Cousin are already familiar to our readers. We have, on more than one occasion, been led to notice his labors in the great field of intellectual philosophy, and if we have not been able to give our unqualified concurrence to all his theories upon that subject, we have never risen from the perusal of any of his works without feeling fresh admiration of his learning, eloquence, and indefatigable industry. He seems, in fact, to combine the vivacity and brilliancy of the French school of literature, with the immense erudition and dogged perseverance in study, which have sometimes been considered as almost peculiar to the scholars of Germany. In addition to the voluminous works now before us, prepared and brought out in the midst of a variety of ministerial and political occupations, he has also continued his translation of Plato, of which we announced the commencement in a former number. We have just received from Paris, three new volumes of this noble work, the preparation of which, including as they do, very copious notes and illustrations, would have been regarded by most writers as an exclusive, and, indeed, very ample occupation for the whole of their time. We look forward with strong interest to the publication of the first volume, which will contain the life of Plato, with a dissertation on his philosophy, and will form, unquestionably, one of the most important philosophical works that have lately appeared in Europe.

Whatever may be thought of the tendency and substantial value of Mr. Cousin's metaphysical theories, upon which, as we have intimated, the public opinion is not yet settled, there can be no doubt of the great practical importance of his labors in the cause of education. He was despatched by the French government to Germany as a commissioner, to collect information on the methods employed in that country; and the masterly manner in which he performed the duties entrusted to him, has rendered his mission a sort of epoch in the progress of improvement, not merely in France, but in most other civilized countries. It has already led to a reform in the system of instruction in France, which was carried through the Cham-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bers by M. Cousin himself, in his capacity of Peer. In England, his writings on this subject, have awakened a strong interest, and probably will give occasion to great practical changes. In this country, they have arrived very opportunely, at a moment when some of the most important States, particularly New York and Massachusetts, are laboring to place their schools on a better footing, and will furnish a body of most valuable information in aid of this purpose. In this commonwealth, where a school fund has just been established, and is now going into operation, many valuable hints may be, and doubtless will be, taken from the successful experiments of the older countries. The committee of the legislature have directed the public attention to the Prussian System, by including in their report an outline of its principal features, furnished by a distinguished Prussian, Dr. Julius of Berlin, now travelling in this country under the orders of his government, for purposes similar to those for which Professor Cousin was despatched to Germany. The committee have also recommended the distribution of Miss Austin's abridgement to all the towns, — a measure which cannot but be attended with the best results. We also anticipate a very favorable effect from the publication of these works in some parts of Spanish America, where the public feeling is at length roused to the great subject of education, and the labors of some of the most conspicuous individuals are zealously devoted to its improvement.

The works before us are of too much importance to be treated as a mere text for new speculations on the same subject: our readers will desire and expect to be made acquainted with their contents, as far as this object can be effected within the narrow limits of this notice. In the impossibility of giving any thing like a complete analysis of the whole, we shall direct our principal attention to the sections which treat of the seminaries for the education of teachers.

A succinct account of the origin of these establishments is given at the commencement of the report made to the government, upon the condition of the one at Potsdam, which is considered as among the most flourishing, and is under the care of Mr. Striez.

"It is impossible," says Mr. Cousin, "more completely to justify the confidence of the ministry than Mr. Striez has done. From year to year the normal school confided to his care has made extraordinary progress, and in 1826 he laid before the public an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

account of it, which excited the liveliest interest. This account I place before you; it will give you an accurate and complete idea of the material and moral condition, — of the whole internal life, — of one of the best primary normal schools of Prussia.

"Until the middle of the last century there were no primary normal schools in Brandenburg. The school-masters were appointed by the parishes, either with the approbation of the authorities or without their knowledge, and were all drawn from the primary school then established. All that was required of these masters, who were chiefly mechanics, was to be able to read, say the catechism, sing tolerably a few well-known psalm-tunes, and to write and cipher a little. Numbers of shepherds, employed in summer time in keeping sheep, during winter assumed the office of teachers of youth. The nobility used generally to bestow the place of schoolmaster (if it was at their disposal) on their valets or grooms, as a reward for past services. The primary schools in towns sometimes had masters a little better informed, but even they had neither good taste nor method in their manner of teaching.

"Johann Julius Hecker, chief councillor of the consistory at Berlin, and minister of Trinity church, was the first who undertook to train young men for the art of teaching. With this view he founded a school to supply masters for his own diocese.

"This establishment, founded in 1748, remained for some time a private one; in the year 1753 it was raised to the rank of a royal primary normal school for schoolmasters and parish-clerks. The provincial authorities were enjoined, in a Cabinet order published the 1st of October, 1753, to select, as far as possible, the members of this establishment for the royal places of parish-clerk and schoolmaster.

"But this primary normal school was still far from meeting the constantly increasing wants of the province, and little merited the name of a royal school. The pupils, scattered in all parts of the capital, were not properly watched nor directed in their studies. Being all mechanics, they labored at their trades rather than their studies, and were besides exposed to the influence of the corporation spirit,* and to the seductions of a great town. In fact, the time which they devoted to their studies at the normal school was in general, too short to afford any hope of effecting the end proposed.

"In 1771 Frederick the Great appropriated 4000 crowns, interest upon a capital of 100,000 crowns, to the improvement of the country schools in the Electoral March; he used on this occasion the following expressions: 'Primary education, especially in the

* In Germany the members of each trade, till very recently, composed a *Zunft*, — guild, or corporation. — *Trans.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country, has been hitherto much neglected; it becomes imperative to remove the bad masters, and replace them by competent men.' Understanding that the schools were better organized in Saxony, he ordered that masters should be drawn thence, and put in the place of those whom it might have seemed fit to remove, in spite of their being dependents on the crown or on the nobles. An increase of salary was to be allowed to the new masters, from the special fund lately created; and the individuals most distinguished among them to be held out to the primary normal school as *models for masters in training*.

"But the benevolent intention of the king could not be entirely realized; either the persons intrusted with its execution were negligent, or they found it difficult to draw skilful masters from Saxony. To obviate this inconvenience, it was determined to place in the schools which were susceptible of reform, theological candidates, who should fill the office of masters. The only effect, however, of all this was to attach a better salary to a certain number of schoolmasterships, and to relieve the inhabitants of the parishes of Brandenburg from the obligation of paying for the education of their children, — the better-paid masters being bound to give gratuitous instruction. Such is the origin of the so-called charity-schools.

"Some lesser normal schools, indeed, sprang up insensibly at Berlin; but either they were not of long continuance, or they remained unimportant; or else they had no other view than to form masters for Berlin and the neighboring towns, of an inferior order.

"Such was the state of things when, in 1809, the regency of Potsdam, the ecclesiastical authorities, and the school-deputation began to give a new direction to the system hitherto followed in primary instruction.

"Nothing was more strongly felt than the want of good masters. Exact information was eagerly sought as to the condition of the primary normal school at Berlin, and in 1810 great improvements were effected in this establishment. Upon their success depended, in part, whether this school should be continued and remain at Berlin, or whether it should be transferred to another place. Now, on experiment, the measures adopted appeared inapplicable to the establishment at Berlin, and a serious intention was consequently formed of founding another. As the chapter-house of Havelberg, which they had in view, was not at that time to be disposed of, it was in 1815 resolved to establish provisionally the new normal school at Potsdam. The license was granted in 1816, and the project executed in 1817."

The following extracts will give a distinct notion of the organization of these establishments in their principal points.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The normal school and its annexed school are placed under a director or principal, subordinate to the royal school-board of the province of Brandenburg at Berlin, and to the minister of public instruction and ecclesiastical and medical affairs.

"The last named authority lays down the principles to be followed in this school, as in all other public schools; exacts an account of all important matters, such as the nomination of the masters, and any change in the fundamental plan of the studies; and receives every year, through the medium of the royal school-board, a detailed report, prepared by the director of the school.

"The school-board is charged with the special inspection of the normal school: it must watch its progress, and from time to time send commissioners to make inquiries on the spot. It examines also and approves the plan of studies presented every half-year and decides on all questions submitted to the consistory.

"The director should superintend the whole establishment, observe and direct the masters and servants, make reports to the superior authorities, carry on the correspondence, &c.

"The normal school, situated near the canal and the Berlin gate, is a large edifice two stories high, with a frontage of 127 feet, and considerable back-buildings, which, joined to the main building, form a square within which is a tolerably spacious court. The whole comprehends:

"1. A family residence for the director or principal, and another for a master;

"2. Three apartments for three unmarried masters;

"3. An apartment for the steward and his servants, and sufficient convenience for household business and stowage;

"4. A dining-room for the pupils, which serve also for the writing and drawing class;

"5. An organ-room, in which the music-lessons are given, the examinations take place, and the morning and evening prayers are said;

"6. Two rooms for the scientific instruction of the pupils;

"7. Four rooms for the classes of the annexed school;

"8. Five rooms of different sizes, and two dormitories for the pupils;

"9. Two infirmaries;

"10. A wash-house;

"11. Two cabinets of natural history;

"12. Granaries, cellars, wood-houses, &c.

"The normal school receives yearly 5,400 thaler (810*l.*) from different state funds. To which we must add nearly 2,750 thaler (412*l.* 10*s.*) paid by the pupils, and 250 thaler (32*l.* 10*s.*) by the children of the annexed primary school; so that the annual income of the whole establishment amounts to 8,400 thaler (1,260*l.*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"This sum serves to pay, —

"1. The salaries of the masters;

"2. The household expenses;

"3. The materials for instruction for the normal school and the school annexed;

"4. The garden-ground;

"5. The heating and lighting;

"6. The repairs of the building, furniture and utensils, the insurance, taxes and expenses of the house, &c.;

"7. The maintenance of the pupils, the ten purses or exhibitions, and half-purses, and the sundries;

"8. The physician and surgeon.

"The establishment contains the following articles.

"1. Things required in the economy of the house, kitchen utensils, tables, forms, &c.;

"2. Sufficient and suitable furniture, consisting of chests of drawers, tables, forms, chairs and boxes, for the class of the normal school, and the school for practice, and for the masters' rooms, &c. There is also, for the poorer pupils, a certain number of bedsteads with bedding;

"3. A considerable library for the masters and pupils, as well as a good collection of maps and globes for the teaching of geography;

"4. A tolerably complete collection of philosophical instruments;

"5. A collection of minerals, presented to the establishment by Councillor Von Turck;

"6. A collection of stuffed birds, and other objects in natural history;

"7. The instruments most required in mathematical instruction;

"8. Complete drawing apparatus;

"9. A very considerable collection of music;

"10. A very good organ, a piano-forte, seven harpsichords, and many wind and string-instruments.

"Additions are made every year, from funds specially appropriated to this purpose, and by the care of the superior authorities; the whole inventory of the establishment is insured for 7,500 thaler (1,125*l.*) in the insurance office at Aachen at a premium of only about 14 thaler (2*l.* 2*s.*)

"To support about eighty pupils, and to preserve cleanliness in the house, a steward has been appointed, whose duties are specified in a contract renewable every year.

"The food of the pupils is good and wholesome, which is proved by the state of their health. Some parents think it needful to send their children eatables, or money to purchase them. They are wrong, for the children have no such want; on the contrary,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so far from being advantageous, these presents only serve to take away their appetite at meals, and to make them dainty and gluttonous. The orphans, and those whose parents are too poor to send them any thing, are exactly those who are the strongest and healthiest.

"The director is almost always present at meals, to be sure of the goodness of the food, and to prevent any irregularity in the serving up.

"Sick pupils are sent to the infirmary, and are attended by the physician or surgeon of the establishment."

"The number of the pupils is fixed by the regulation at from 75 to 80, and is now 78, of whom 72 live in the establishment; the other six have obtained a license to remain with their parents in order to lessen the expense of their maintenance.

"This number is determined not only by the building, but also by the wants of the province. Brandenburg contains about 1500 masterships of primary schools, in town and country. Supposing that out of a hundred places, two become vacant every year, there will be at least thirty masters required for this province; but these places for the most part pay so badly, that they are compelled to be content with but moderately qualified masters, who, perhaps, have not been educated at a normal school, and who sometimes follow some trade or handicraft. If, then, the normal school contains 78 pupils who form three classes, one of which quits annually, it will furnish each year 26 candidates, which about meets the wants of the country.

"Once a year, at Michaelmas, 26 pupils are admitted. Of these are required —

"1. Good health and freedom from all bodily infirmity. (Obstacles to admission would be, exceeding smallness of stature, short-sightedness, or a delicate chest;)

"2. The age of 17 complete;

"3. The evangelical religion;

"4. A moral and religious spirit, and a conduct hitherto blameless;

"5. A good disposition and talents, amongst which are a good voice and a musical ear;

"6. To be prepared for the studies of the normal school by the culture of the heart and mind: to have received a good religious education (which shall include a knowledge of the Bible and biblical history;) to be able to read; to know the grammar of the German language, of composition, arithmetic, the principles of singing, the piano-forte and violin.

"A written request for admission must be sent to the director, by June at the latest, accompanied with —

"1. A certificate of birth and baptism;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"2. A school certificate, and one of good conduct;

"3. A police certificate, stating the condition of the young man or his father, or else a written declaration from the father or guardian, stating the time within which he can and will pay the annual sum fixed by law; *i. e.* 48 thaler (6*l.* 16*s.*)

"The director enters the petitioners on a list, and in the month of June or July invites them, by letter, to present themselves at the examination which takes place in July or August.

"The examination is conducted partly in writing, and partly *viva voce.*

"As a means of ascertaining the acquirements of the candidates, and of judging of their memory, their style, and their moral dispositions, an anecdote or parable is related in a clear and detailed manner, summing up and repeating the principal points, after which they produce it in writing, with observations and reflections.

"The oral examination usually includes only religion, reading, grammar, logical exercises, and arithmetic.

"They are also examined in singing, the piano-forte and the violin.

"After the examination, the talents and merits of the respective candidates are conscientiously weighed and compared, in a conference of the masters. The choice being made, it is submitted to the sanction of the royal school-board, with a detailed report of the result of the examination.

"At the end of some weeks the candidates are informed of the decision; their admission is announced, or the reasons which prevented it stated; with either advice to give up their project entirely, or suggestions relative to their further preparation.

"The admitted candidate is bound to bring, besides his clothes and books, amongst which must be the Bible and the prayer-book used in the establishment, half-a-dozen shirts, six pairs of stockings, a knife and fork, and, generally, a bedstead with all requisite bedding.

"He is also bound to sign, on his entrance, the following engagement to the director, with the consent of his father or guardian.

"Copy of the engagement with the director, to be signed by the pupil on his entrance.

"'I, the undersigned, N—— of N——, by these presents, bind myself, conformably with the ordinance of the royal minister of public instruction and ecclesiastical and medical affairs, dated Feb. 28th, 1825, with the consent of my father (or guardian) who signs this with me, ... to place myself during three years after my leaving the normal school, at the disposal of the king's government; and consequently not to subscribe anything

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contrary to this engagement; or, in such case, to refund to the normal school the expenses incurred by the state for my instruction, namely:

"'1. Ten thaler for each half-year passed in the normal school, and for the instruction received in this period of time;

"'2. The whole amount of the grants and exhibitions I may have received.

"'Potsdam, the &c.'

"The applicant rejected, but not advised to choose another course, is summoned to a fresh examination the following year.

"The number of applicants having been for some time past very great, the author of this report thinks it his duty to warn parents, (especially schoolmasters,) whose children do not evince talents, and have not a decided taste for teaching, not to suffer them to lose the precious time which they might employ with much more success in some other career.

"This respects chiefly the poorer youths, who can have no claim to the exhibitions, unless they give proofs of an extraordinary capacity, from which the state and society may derive a real advantage.

"The normal school is by no means designed for those who are unfit for any business, and think, if they can read and write, they are capable of becoming schoolmasters. This notion is so deeply rooted, that you hear fathers declare with all the simplicity in the world—'My son is too delicate to learn a business,' or 'I don't know what to make of my son, but I think of getting him into the normal school.' We reply to such, that the pupils of the normal school must, on the contrary, be sound both in body and mind, and able to brave the toils and troubles of a career as laborious as it is honorable.

"Much neglect unfortunately still exists on a subject which is of the highest importance,—the methodical preparation of these young men for the calling which it is desired they should embrace.

"A false direction is often given to their preliminary studies. A young man is believed to be well prepared for the normal school, if he have passed the limits of elementary instruction, and if he have acquired a greater mass of knowledge than other pupils. It frequently happens, however, that candidates who come strongly recommended from school, pass the examination without credit, or are even rejected.

"The most immediate and the most important aim of all instruction, is to train up and complete the man; to ennoble his heart and character; to awaken the energies of his soul, and to render him not only disposed, but able, to fulfil his duties. In this view alone can knowledge and talents profit a man; otherwise, instruction, working upon sterile memory, and talents purely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mechanical, can be of no high utility. In order that the teacher, and particularly the master of the primary school, may make his pupils virtuous and enlightened men, it is necessary he should be so himself. Thus, that the education of a normal school, essentially practical, may completely succeed, the young candidate must possess nobleness and purity of character in the highest possible degree, the love of the true and the beautiful, an active and penetrating mind, the utmost precision and clearness in narration and style.

"Such above all things are the qualities we require of young men. If they have reached this state of moral and intellectual advancement by the study of history, geography, mathematics, &c., and if they have acquired additional knowledge on these various branches, we cannot but give them applause; but, we frankly repeat, we dispense with all these acquirements, provided they possess that *formal instruction* of which we have just spoken, since it is very easy for them to obtain in the normal school that *material instruction* in which they are deficient."

"If the young men have no relations at Potsdam who can answer for their good conduct and application, they are all, without exception, bound to live in the normal school, and to take their food there, paying to the director the sum of 12 thaler (1*l.* 16*s.*) per quarter.

"Each pupil costs the establishment 100 thaler a year. In paying, therefore, the yearly sum of 48 thaler, required by law, he defrays only half his expenses. A bursar is entitled to lodging, firing, board, candles, and instruction. A half bursar pays only 24 thaler a year. He has then only to buy his clothes, to pay for his washing, books, paper, pens, ink, and whatever is wanted for music and drawing.

"The pupils pay for medicine; the establishment, however, willingly lends assistance, if, at the end of a severe illness, the cost is very great.

"As to clothes, (which, however, must be clean, and not ragged,) and books, no one is compelled to incur greater expense than his means will allow.

"During their stay in the normal school the young men can earn nothing, since they have no time left to give private lessons, which, moreover, would cause great inconvenience.

"With respect to lodging, they are distributed into five large rooms with stoves, appropriated to the pupils; and they live and work, to the number of eight, twelve, or sixteen, in one of these rooms, which is furnished with tables, chairs, drawers, book-cases, bureaus, and piano-fortes. Their beds and chests are put in two dormitories. Each sitting-room, each bed-room, has its inspector, chosen from among the pupils, who is responsible for its order.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is the duty of one of the pupils belonging to the chamber to arrange and dust the furniture, &c. every day. Neglect in the fulfilment of his office is punished by the continuance of it.

"So long as the pupils remain at the normal school, and behave with propriety, they are exempt from military service.

"All the pupils are bound to pursue the course of the normal school for three years; their acquirements and instruction would be incomplete if they did not conform to this regulation."

The following extract gives a general idea of the plan of instruction.

"This important subject is of far too great extent for us to attempt to exhaust it here. We shall take a future opportunity of entering upon it, and show how all the branches of instruction are treated in the normal school. At present we shall content ourselves with the mention of the principles which regulate the instruction and general discipline.

"In the education of the masters of primary schools the wants of the people must be consulted.

"We have abundant proof that the well-being of an individual, like that of a people, is nowise secured by extraordinary intellectual powers or very refined civilization. The true happiness of an individual, as of a people, is founded on strict morality, self-government, humility, and moderation; on the willing performance of all duties to God, his superiors, and his neighbors.

"A religious and moral education is consequently the first want of a people. Without this, every other education is not only without real utility, but in some respects dangerous. If, on the contrary, religious education has taken firm root, intellectual education will have complete success, and ought on no account to be withheld from the people, since God has endowed them with all the faculties for acquiring it, and since the cultivation of all the powers of man secures to him the means of reaching perfection, and, through that, supreme happiness.

"Religious and moral instruction, far from leading to presumption and a disputatious spirit, on the contrary, produces in man a consciousness of his weakness, and, as a consequence, humility. The object then should be, to give the people solid and practical knowledge, suited to their wants, which will naturally refine and soften their habits and manners.

"If such be the instruction the people ought to receive, that of the masters of the primary schools is at once determined, and the principles to be followed in the instruction of our pupils are equally clear.

"A more definite direction is given to religious and moral instruction by the belief in the revealed word of God in the Holy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scriptures. But this belief must not be simply historical, as amongst the learned; nor amuse itself with obscure and mystical notions; nor be expressed with affectation, in word, gesture, or deed. It ought rather so to penetrate the heart of man as to produce a constant endeavor to have his thoughts, sentiments, and actions in strictest harmony with the word of God. It is, then, on the living conviction of the truths and doctrines of Christianity, that we base the religious and moral character of our pupils. Enemies to all needless constraint, we allow the young men all the liberty compatible with our responsibility, with our duty of guarding them from every seduction, and with the internal order of the establishment. We are indulgent to faults which arise not from bad disposition, but we punish unkindness and rudeness even in look and gesture. To be cringing and hypocritical is a bad way of seeking our favor, but we encourage to the utmost of our power, real unassuming piety, docility, zeal, and industry.

"To sustain and confirm the religious and moral spirit of our pupils, we adopt various means. We take particular care that they go to church every Sunday: they are not compelled to attend exclusively the *Heilige Geist Kirche*, (church of the Holy Ghost,) which is the parish church of the normal school, and which it supplies with a choir of singers; but on the Monday they are required to name the church they went to, and to give an account of the sermon. Every Sunday, at six o'clock in the morning, one of the oldest pupils reads, in turn, a sermon, in the presence of all the pupils and one master. At the beginning and end they sing a verse of a psalm, accompanied on the organ. A prayer, about ten or fifteen minutes long, is offered up every morning and night, by one of the masters. They begin with singing one or two verses; then follows a religious address, or the reading of a chapter from the Bible, and, in conclusion, another verse.

"To obtain a moral influence over the pupils, we consider their individual position, their wants, and their conduct. Much aid in this respect is derived from the weekly conferences of the masters, and particularly from the quarterly report of the pupils, or judgment on the application, progress, and conduct of each. This is written in a particular book, called the report-book, and forms the basis of the certificates delivered to the pupils on their leaving the establishment, as well as of private advice given at the time.

"The means of correction adopted are, warnings, exhortations, reprimands; at first privately, then at the conference of the masters; lastly, before all the pupils. If these means do not suffice, recourse is had to confinement, to withdrawing the *stipendia* or exhibitions, and, in the last resort, to expulsion. But we endeavor, as much as possible, to prevent these punishments, by keeping up a friendly intercourse with the pupils, by distinguishing the mer-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

itorious, by striving to arouse a noble emulation, and to stir up in their hearts the desire of gaining esteem and respect by irreproachable conduct.

"It is on the interest given to the lessons that especially depends the application to study out of class. Certain hours of the day are consecrated to private study, and each master by turns takes upon himself to see that quiet is maintained in the rooms, and that all are properly occupied.

"At the end of each month, the last lesson, whatever the branch of instruction, is a recapitulation, in the form of an examination, on the subjects treated of in the course of the month.

"As to the branches of knowledge taught, and the course of study, the following is the fundamental plan:—

"In the first year *formal instruction* predominates; in the second, *material instruction;* in the third, *practical instruction.* The pupils, having then about ten lessons a week to give in the annexed school, (lessons for which they must be well prepared,) follow fewer courses in the school.

"Our principal aim, in each kind of instruction, is to induce the young men to think and judge for themselves. We are opposed to all mechanical study and servile transcripts. The masters of our primary schools must possess intelligence themselves, in order to be able to awaken it in their pupils; otherwise, the state would doubtless prefer the less expensive schools of Bell and Lancaster.

"We always begin with the elements, because we are compelled to admit, at least at present, pupils whose studies have been neglected; and because we wish to organize the instruction in every branch, so as to afford the pupils a model and guide in the lessons which they will one day be called upon to give.

"With respect to *material* instruction, we regard much more the solidity, than the extent, of the acquirements. This not only accords with the intentions of the higher authorities, but reason itself declares that solidity of knowledge alone can enable a master to teach with efficacy, and carry forward his own studies with success. Thus, young men of delicate health are sometimes exempted from certain branches of study, such as the mathematics, thorough-bass, and natural philosophy.

"Gardening is taught in a piece of ground before the Nauen gate; and swimming, in the swimming-school established before the Berlin gate, during the proper season, from seven to nine in the evening.

"*Practical* instruction we consider of the greatest importance.

"All the studies and all the knowledge of our pupils would be fruitless, and the normal school would not fulfil the design of its institution, if the young teachers were to quit the establishment

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

without having already methodically applied what they had learned, and without knowing by experience what they have to do, and how to set about it.

"To obtain this result, it is not sufficient that the young men should see the course gone through under skilful masters, or that they should themselves occasionally give lessons to their schoolfellows; they must have taught the children in the annexed school for a long time, under the direction of the masters of the normal school. It is only by familiarizing themselves with the plan of instruction for each particular branch, and by teaching each for a certain time themselves, that they can acquire the habit of treating it with method."

M. Cousin has also given copious extracts from the report upon the condition of another of these establishments, which is situated at Bruhl, on the banks of the Rhine, between Cologne and Bonn. Our readers will be gratified, we think, with the following specimen.

"It will not, I imagine, be out of place to begin this report with some details respecting the little town of Bruhl, in which the establishment in question is situated.

"The town of Bruhl stands in a beautiful plain on the left bank of the Rhine, two leagues from Koln, three from Bonn, and a short league from the river. It is surrounded by fertile fields and picturesque villages. Directly before it majestically rises the ancient Colonia, with its numerous towers and steeples, and its colossal cathedral. It bounds the view on that side: on the right, the *Siebengebirge** traces its gigantic outlines on the blue distance, and on that side presents to the eye a picture of grandeur and repose. From some neighboring heights the lover of natural beauty looks down with admiration on the plains which lie outspread before him, and the silvery lustre of the majestic Rhine, which, in its ample windings, rolls peacefully along, as if it delighted to linger in these smiling regions, while two long chains of hills seem to hold this magnificent plain in their embrace. One of these chains stretches along the left bank of the Rhine, to the Eifel mountains, and is for that reason called the *Vorgebirge*, — (fore or introductory range:) at the foot of this chain is Bruhl. The summit is clothed with the forest of Vill, and the undulating sides are dotted with country-houses and pretty villages, the houses of which are half hidden among fruit-trees. At the blossoming season these villages present the most delightful aspect, and help to compose a picture of enchanting variety. It is not without reason,

* The cluster of seven mountains nearly opposite to Bonn.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

then, that Bruhl was the favorite residence of the Electoral Archbishops of Koln, and in former times this little town was far more important than it now is. At the present day Bruhl consists of only 278 houses, among which are many poor mud cottages, and contains only from fourteen to fifteen hundred inhabitants. Since it ceased to be the residence of the Electors, its inhabitants nearly all live by agriculture, and by a small trade. There are only two remarkable buildings, — the palace, which is abandoned, and the monastery. This latter building is occupied by the establishment under my care.

"The monastery was formerly the nursery of the order of Franciscan monks for the whole province of Koln. After the suppression of the order on the left bank of the Rhine, in 1807, Napoleon gave the monastery and its dependencies to the town of Bruhl, which, in 1812, granted them to Messrs. Schug and Schumacher for the establishment of a secondary and commercial school, whose existence closed in 1822. At the end of that year, the town ceded these buildings to the government, for the establishment of the primary normal school which now occupies them.

"The house is built in a grand style, with three stories, and in a quadrangular form. The entrance is to the north, and leads by a small fore court, on the one side into the convent, on the other into the church, which is handsome, light and lofty. The high altar, of artificial marble, and the organ, are much admired. On the south side are two wings, which give the buildings a handsome and palace-like appearance. From the very entrance, the cloisters are wide, with lofty vaulted roofs, cheerful and well lighted. They run quite round the building, as do the corridors over them on the first and second stories. On the ground-floor we have four rooms or halls for study, and a large and very light dining-hall which serves also for our public meetings, for study and for prayer. Beside it, are two school-rooms, and two rooms for the steward, with kitchen, offices and servants' hall in the basement story, where the porter has also his kitchen and two rooms. The establishment has a pump, abundantly supplied with fine water, near the kitchen; a rivulet which runs under the two wings is of great importance for purposes of cleanliness.

"The director occupies the eastern side of the building on the first floor; the inspector, the left wing and a part of the southern side; the steward has the rest of that side; the right wing and the western side are inhabited by an ancient father and brother of the Franciscan order, — regarded as the last remnant of a once flourishing body, now extinct, — and by the master of the school for practice. There are no rooms to the north, only corridors adjoining the church.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The assistant masters inhabit the upper story, in which are also five hospital rooms to the south, and two large dormitories for the students to the east and west of the main building. A granary or loft, in good repair, runs over the whole of the building, and affords both steward and masters convenient stowage for their stock of grain of all kinds.

"Both masters and pupils have ample reason to be satisfied with the rooms for study and for dwelling. The masters' apartments are not handsome, it is true; other schools have better: with a little cleaning and decoration they might however be made very comfortable. The students' dormitories are cheerful, and better fitted up than any I have seen in any normal school; their appearance is very neat and agreeable, with the clean beds all covered alike, which can be done only where they are furnished by the establishment. This house has only one inconvenience,—violent currents of air, but these might, I think, be remedied.

"The outside of the building is as agreeable as the inside is convenient; it is situated on the prettiest side of the town, and has no communication with any other building except the palace, with which it is connected by a covered way, and by the old orangery. It has a magnificent view over a delightful country, a large kitchen-garden, a commodious court, and two flower-gardens.

"The building is of stone, and consequently very substantial; its aspect is indeed a little hoary now, but a new coat of plaster would soon give it a cheerful appearance. The roof is in good condition, and if once the building underwent a thorough repair the whole might be kept up at a very small expense. During the past year no great repairs have been done.

"The number of students is fixed at a hundred; at this moment there are ninety-two. The object of the establishment is to train schoolmasters for the catholic parishes of the four regencies of Coblentz, Koln, Aachen and Dusseldorf. Its position with relation to the government, is, in principle, to receive the pupils from its hands, and to render them back accomplished for their task. In the other normal schools the rule is, that the candidates for admission be examined by the schoolmasters, and by them declared fit or unfit to be either entered or immediately admitted; but here it is the custom for them to be examined in the department they come from, without any intervention of the school, and afterwards admitted by the director on the nomination of the government. On the other hand, the parting examination rests with the school, under the condition of a special commissioner being present. The pupil declared fit for nomination is not subject to be re-examined by the government authorities. According to its regulations, the school is not only authorized but obliged, at the end of the first year, to send away the pupils who are judged in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capable of attaining the requisite excellence. At the time of the last parting examination, the school had been obliged to exercise this power in the case of eight pupils, which reduced their number to ninety-two.

"The health of the students was not so good in 1824 as in the preceding year; as sufficiently appears from the bill for medical attendance for the two years.

"In 1823 this amounted to 66 thaler (9*l.* 18*s.*,) in 1824 to 177 thaler (26*l.* 11*s.*) But we must not forget that the number of pupils in the latter year, as compared with the former, was as three to two. There have indeed been no contagious diseases, and few of a serious character, but frequent inflammatory and catarrhal fevers, some intermittent and one nervous fever. Inflammatory opthalmia, attacks on the chest, and palpitations of the heart have not been rare. The physician has paid the pupils great attention, indeed I might almost say too much; and I have agreed with him that he shall not order them medicines, except in cases where diet, rest, perspiration and domestic remedies are insufficient. In order to prevent the young men from abusing the facility of applying to a physician, I have ordered that no one shall for the future consult him without my permission. Infectious cutaneous diseases are avoided by having the pupils examined by the physician on their entrance, and again a week after. If any well-founded suspicions arise, separation takes place as a measure of precaution; if the appearances of a contagious disease are certain, the pupil is sent home till perfectly cured.

"Without rigid attention to order, we could not hope for the smallest success. In an establishment composed of various elements, like this normal school, where young men who differ in language (dialect,) manners and education are gathered together, there must be rigorous obedience to rule. In domestic life, the head of the family *is* the rule; and in a large establishment, unquestionably those who govern are strictly bound to furnish an example to all under them. They are that spring of the great machine which cannot cease to move without stopping the whole. But it is also necessary that the establishment should have its precise rules, its written code of laws. The governors, it is true, fill the place of the law whenever it is silent; but all, without distinction, ought to know accurately what they *must* do, and what they *may* do. For this reason the undersigned cannot share the opinion of some very estimable teachers who think it not necessary, nor even expedient, that there be written laws for an establishment like the primary normal school; nay, that their promulgation may operate only as an incitement to break them. Laws seem to me to grow out of the very nature of the institution. Gather together a number of young men without laying down any rule for them;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they themselves will soon feel the necessity of making laws for the government of their intercourse with each other, and will choose one of their body as guardian of these laws. It is then natural, useful and fitting, that the managers and masters should make laws for the school confided to them. If it be true that laws create the temptation to break them, that is a reason why laws for all human society ought to be abolished. Fixed laws give to an institution a steady course, protect the weaker against caprice and tyranny, prevent mistakes and precipitation, and, what is more important for the future, they show in a clear and striking manner the necessity of laws for the commonwealth, and train youth to a reasonable and willing obedience to them. The opinion I offer here springs from my general conviction of the utility of positive written laws, which my own experience has greatly strengthened. For in those infractions of order and discipline which have occasionally happened, I have contented myself with punishing the fault by reading the infringed law to the culprit, in a calm but severe manner, either in private or before all the pupils assembled; and this punishment has never failed of its effect.

"After this digression, which I have thought it expedient to insert here, I return to the order of the house. It is our duty to make the utmost possible use of the day-light, as being more healthful, more cheerful, and more perfect than lamp-light, and costing nothing. In our situation it would be unpardonable to turn night into day. I make it a great point, too, that the young men should get the habit of rising early, so that in the evening they may lay aside all anxiety and all labor, and give themselves up to the enjoyment of tranquil and refreshing sleep. In summer, therefore, we rise at four, and even earlier when the days are at the longest; in winter at six, in spring and autumn at five. In summer, I and my pupils go to bed at nine or half-past, in spring and winter at ten. The pupils ring the *reveil* by turns; a quarter of an hour after, the bell rings again, and all assemble in the dining-hall, where the morning prayer is said; then they all follow me to the church, where I perform the service of the holy mass. One of the students assists in the service; the others sing the responses; this religious act, for which we use the prayer-book and psalter of Bishop Von Hommer, is sometimes mingled with singing, but rarely, because singing very early in the morning is said to be injurious to the voice and chest. All is terminated in an hour; and the pupils, after having thus sanctified the first hour of morning, return to the house, make their beds, breakfast, and then prepare for lessons, which begin at seven or at eight, according to the season. In establishing this rule, I had some fears at first, that rising so early and going directly into a cold church in the depth of winter, might be injurious to their health; but I am

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

always there before them, and I have never suffered. It may be said that I am more warmly clothed than the young men; but then they are young, their blood is warmer than mine, and that restores the balance. Moreover, it cannot but be advantageous to them to harden themselves, while habits of indulgence and delicacy would be extremely unfavorable to them in their profession. On the Sundays and festivals of the church, I say mass to the students at half-past eight in the morning. They sing a German mass for four voices, or simple chants and hymns; and, on high festivals, Latin mass. During the last year, the pupils of the first class have several times executed some easy masses extremely well. But, generally speaking, I am not perfectly satisfied with our church music; not that our masters and pupils do not do their best, but we have not a suitable supply of church music. The singing in catholic churches is subject to a particular condition; it must be connected with the acts of the mass; it must form a whole, distinct, and yet in harmony with the mass, and moreover must be adapted to each of the epochs of the ecclesiastical year. Now we have very little church music fit for the people. What there is, is in the hands of a few individuals who do not choose to part with it. There is doubtless an abundance of sacred music suited to every occasion, but it is all in the most elevated style; and to what good end should the studies of the pupils be pushed so far beyond what can be of use to them in their future sphere of action? Music of the highest order never can nor ought to become the property of the people. Music ought not to be cultivated as a mere gratification of a sense; it ought to help to ennoble and refine the heart, and to form the moral taste.

"It does not signify so much how they sing, as what they sing. In primary normal schools music ought not, any more than reading, to be the principal object; it must be regarded and treated as a means towards a higher end, which is, education and moral culture. It is therefore with reason that the primary normal schools are required to diffuse a nobler and more worthy kind of popular sacred music; this is, as regards music, their proper office. A good composer, who would devote himself to this object, might acquire immortal honor. It is to be wished that the higher authorities, particularly of the church, would encourage composers who show a genius for sacred music, to fill this chasm. In these remarks I have in view, it is true, only the catholic church. It is quite otherwise with the protestant, which possesses a great store of psalms; there is only to choose what are appropriate to the sermon. This greatly facilitates the task of the protestant normal schools. In the catholic worship, on the contrary, the sermon is only a subordinate part of a higher whole, with which the singing must harmonize, adapting itself to the different important moments,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and hence the scarcity of simple counterpoint fit for the purpose. To attain the proposed end, we ought to have, not only a good organist, but also an able composer, which it is not easy to find. I return to the order of the day.

"As the day begins with prayer, so it ends with it. A quarter of an hour or half an hour before going to bed, all the pupils assemble, at the sound of the bell, for evening devotions. A short portion of the holy scripture is read, and after enlarging more or less on a text, and recommending it to imitation, I conclude by a prayer. During the past year I preached a homiletical discourse on the lesson of the day, before mass every Sunday morning; but as it becomes difficult for me to speak fasting, I now reserve it till evening. It has also been decided, that as a means of keeping alive religious and moral feelings, the pupils should confess and communicate once a month, unless particular reasons render it expedient to prolong the interval to six weeks, or, at furthest, two months. The rest of the day is employed according to the scheme of lessons and the order enjoined by the minister. The pupils are not allowed to go out, except on the weekly afternoon holiday; and this is sufficient for their health, because in all their hours of recreation they can take exercise in a garden of two acres which belongs to the establishment. Nevertheless, on fine days I occasionally give them leave to make expeditions into the country, when I think their health will be benefited by it; making it an express condition that they shall take no pipes.

"It is good to correct faults; better still to prevent them. Abundance of arguments have been adduced in support of the principle that we must let children have their will, in order that their will may become vigorous, and wait till the time when the reason expands to give it a lofty direction. But this is letting the tares overtop the wheat before we attempt to root them out. Experience proves that the good seed springs up more vigorously and thrives better when the soil has been cleared of weeds. Discipline ought, therefore, to precede and to accompany the instruction of young men, as docility and modesty that of children. Doubtless external reverence and reserve are but the beginning of wisdom; man must be brought to think spontaneously and without external impulse, of the duties he lies under, so that it may become his inclination to fulfil whatever he has clearly recognised as a duty, to consult nothing but conscience, and to set himself above the praise and the blame of men. This is true and uncontested; nevertheless, the flesh is always weak, even though the spirit be willing; and there are few of those elect for whom approbation and censure, remonstrances and encouragements, hope and fear, are not necessary helps; and for that reason, such helps are used for great and small, in private houses as well as in schools, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

church as well as in state, and will never fail, if wisely used, to have a salutary effect. A hard ascetical constraint and discipline are as far from my taste as from my principles; but experience demands rigorous order in great schools, especially at their outset. When order has once been thoroughly established, when the will of each has learned to bend to the unity of the collective body, the early severity may be relaxed, and give place to kindness and indulgence. As long as I can recollect, I have observed that the education of children is best in houses where this principle is observed. To let children grow perverse and wayward in their infancy through weak tenderness and indulgence, and then to reprove and chastise them with harshness when their habits are formed, cannot be other than a false system. For these reasons we always begin by reading the rules and disciplinary laws of the house, so that the pupils may distinctly know what they have to do; we then take care that these laws are strictly enforced. The masters, on their side, are careful to show the most punctual obedience to all their duties. We afterwards read portions of the rules, according to circumstances, and to the demand for any particular part; thus the discipline is strengthened and facilitated. The highest punishment is expulsion; and last year we were obliged to resort to this twice. In all cases we try to proportion the punishment to the fault, so as to conduce to the amendment of the culprit and the good of all. For instance, if one of the pupils lies in bed from indolence, he is deprived of his portion of meat at dinner, and for four days, a week, or a fortnight, as it may be, is obliged to declare his presence when we meet in the morning. Being kept at home on holidays, ringing the bell, fetching water, &c. are the only corporal punishments for faults of indolence and infractions of order. Faults of impatience or carelessness, of insincerity or mischievousness, of coarseness or any sort of incivility, offences against decency or good manners, are punished by notes in the inspection-book, which the culprits themselves are obliged to sign. As to the conduct of the students when out of the house, the authorities and inhabitants of the whole neighborhood unanimously bear witness that the presence of these young men is in no way perceived. It is not difficult to speak to their hearts, and by expostulation suited to their age and station to touch them even to tears.

"Of this I could cite several instances, did I not fear prolonging this report. I will, however, give one. Last year the students of the highest class were dissatisfied with the steward, and presented a petition very numerously signed, in which they enumerated their causes of complaint, and asked to have him removed. I gave the petition to him, that he might answer the charges; and after he had made his defence, I suffered accusers and accused to plead

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their cause, at the time of one of the religious lessons. The steward was not irreproachable; his fault was, indeed, evident enough: on the other hand, the complaint was exaggerated, invidious, inexact, and inconsiderate; for several had signed without reading; others had signed because such or such a point seemed to them just; others again had shown themselves extremely active in collecting signatures, and had reproached those who refused to sign. The affair being clearly and circumstantially stated, the steward had his share of the reprimand, and was deeply affected by it; others were moved to tears; and the offenders, when the unbecoming, inconsiderate, and even criminal points of their conduct were distinctly explained to them, acknowledged their injustice, and promised never to act in the like manner again.

"Order and discipline, instruction and prayer, are thus regarded and employed as so many means, general and particular, for cultivating the morality of the pupils; and the undersigned, during the short time he has had the care of the institution, has had the satisfaction of seeing many who entered it with bad and distressing habits, leave it metamorphosed and renewed. Sedateness and modesty have been substituted for giddiness; the spirit of temperance for craving after sensual enjoyments; and those who came to seek but ordinary bread, have acquired a taste for purer and higher food. It is hardly possible that among so many, a vicious one should not occasionally creep in; and last year, among the new comers, was a cunning and accomplished thief, whose depredations filled the establishment with dissatisfaction and alarm. It was difficult to find him out, but falsehood and perversity betray themselves in the end. Heavy suspicions were accumulated during the year on the head of the criminal; and though there were not positive proofs, he could not so escape our vigilance as not to leave us in possession of a moral certainty against him. He was expelled at the examination of last year. Nevertheless, as there was no legal proof, his name was not stigmatized by publicity, and the higher authorities will readily excuse my not mentioning it here, and will be satisfied with the assurance that no misfortune of the kind has since occurred.

"The business of the primary normal school is to form schoolmasters. It must therefore furnish its pupils with the sum of knowledge which the state has declared indispensably necessary to the intellectual wants of the lower classes of the people, of whom they are to be the teachers, and must afterwards fit them to fulfil their important vocation with zeal and with a religious will and earnestness.

"No more than grapes can be gathered from thorns, or figs from thistles, can anything good be hoped from schoolmasters who

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are regardless of religion and of morality. For this reason religious instruction is placed at the head of all other parts of education: its object is to implant in the normal schools such a moral and religious spirit as ought to pervade the popular schools. The course of religious instruction has undergone no change from that stated in the report of last year, except that the several classes have been united for the Biblical part. During the present year we propose to treat the concordance of the Gospels, the history of the Apostles, and some of the Epistles. The course adopted is this, — The series of the concordance is established and dictated by the master; the passages and discourses are explained, and, if thought expedient, learnt by heart by the pupils. For the catechising, or religious and moral instruction, properly so called, the classes are separated. The great catechism of Overberg is taken as a ground-work; and we treat first of faith, then of morals, so that the latter may be intimately connected with the former, or to speak better, that morality may flow from faith as from its source. I regard religion as a disposition or affection of the soul, which unites man, in all his actions, with God; and he alone is truly religious, who possesses this disposition and strives by every means to cherish it. In this view of the subject all morality is religious, because it raises man to God, and teaches him to live in God. I must confess, that in religious instruction I do not confine myself to any particular method; I try by meditation to bring the thing clearly before my own mind, and then to expound it intelligibly, in fitting language, with gravity and calmness, with unction and earnestness, because I am convinced that a clear exposition obliges the pupils to meditate, and excites interest and animation.

"As for the historical part, I have made choice of a short exposition of the history of the Christian church, with an introduction on the constitution of the Jewish church. I think it impossible to learn any thing of universal history, that can be useful or instructive to the students, in less than a hundred lessons. It signifies little whether a village schoolmaster knows the history of India, China or Greece; but he ought to know something of the history of the church, because it is in many points nearly connected with that of religion. I must confess that, in the measure of time allowed us, I cannot make universal history very interesting or profitable to the pupils; but it is otherwise with ecclesiastical history.

"I introduce the theory of education and tuition by experimental psychology. This course of study is of infinite use, in teaching the science of education, and of tuition, as likewise in teaching morals and religion; but I regard the school for practice, and the method there pursued, as the best course of pædagogical instruc-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion. I have come to the conviction that, generally speaking, it is necessary to recommend to the pupils of the normal schools, and to all young schoolmasters, a firm and decided plan, leaving it to them to modify it as time and experience dictate. It is with them, as with a traveller going to a place he has never been at before; it is best to show him the high road, that he may not lose himself; when he is familiar with that, he may try cross roads, if he thinks they will abridge his journey. The masters of the school agree in my views on this point, and endeavor to act up to them."

These extracts give a pretty complete view of the nature of the seminaries for teachers established in Prussia. We cannot, however, but recommend very strongly to all who feel any interest in the subject, to recur to the work itself, which is replete in every part with information, hardly less valuable and interesting, than that contained in the passages which we have extracted.

In inviting the attention of our readers to this subject, one of our objects has been, to suggest the expediency of introducing establishments of a similar kind in this country. A want of competent teachers is the great complaint in all parts of the Union, where any attention is paid to education; and it is certainly singular, that an occupation, which employs a larger number of persons than any other of the liberal professions, should in general be taken up without any special training, and as a merely temporary resource. In New-York, an attempt has been made to introduce a system for the education of teachers, in a form somewhat different from that of Prussia. Instead of separate schools for their instruction, departments appropriated to this purpose, have been organized in each of the eight academies, or higher free schools. The expediency of this plan has not yet been fully tested; but we have been informed by intelligent observers on the spot, that it will probably not be found an improvement on the foreign model. We are glad to find, from the Report of the Committee on Education, that the attention of our own legislature is now directed to this subject, and we trust that their labors upon it will exhibit the same liberal and enlightened spirit, which has always prevailed in the government of Massachusetts, in regard to education, from the foundation of the colony. The recent establishment of a large school fund, furnishes a fit occasion for a revision of the existing system, and, if properly improved, may be made the commencement of a new era in the history of educa-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion in this commonwealth. We look with solicitude to the results of the measures which are understood to be in progress, and sincerely hope, that no blind attachment to the old routine, or narrow prejudices against improvements of foreign origin, will prevent the adoption of the plans which may appear best adapted to the purpose. Massachusetts is looked to, by many of the younger States, for examples in the modes of education; and a thorough reform here would not only do its work upon our own institutions, but would have a most important influence upon the state of education throughout the Union.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

Education Annual, edited by J. Breckenridge, A. M., Philadelphia. J. Wheetham. 18mo. plates.

Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar, for 1835, also. City Officers, and other useful information. Boston. James Loring. 18mo. pp. 252.

BIOGRAPHY.

Life of Lafayette, including an account of the Memorable Revolution of the Three Days of 1830. Boston. Light & Horton. 18mo. pp. 274.

Memoir of Rev. Alvan Hyde, D. D., of Lee, Mass. Boston. Perkins, Marvin & Co. 18mo. pp. 408.

Library of American Biography, Vol. 3. Containing the Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold. By Jared Sparks. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 12mo. pp. 334.

Memoir of Anna Jane Linnard. By Rev. Robert Baird. Philadelphia. H. Perkins. 18mo. pp. 221.

Early Years of the Life of John Henry Hobart, late Bishop of New York. By John M'Vickar, D. D. New York. Prot. Epis. Press. 12mo.

Life of Crockett, the only edition written by Himself. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 212.

Life of the Rev. George Crabbe. By his Son, the Rev. George Crabbe, A. M. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 12mo.

Wonderful Characters, comprising Memoirs and Anecdotes of the most remarkable persons of every age and nation. By Henry Willson. New York. William Burnett. 8vo. pp. 510.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Life and Writings of George Washington. Edited by Jared Sparks. Vols. 4, 5, & 6. Boston. Russell, Odiorne & Co. 8vo.

Life of the Rev. George Crabbe, LL. D., with his Letters and Journals. By the Rev. George Crabbe, A. M., his Son. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Life, Character and Literary Labors of Samuel Drew, A. M. By his eldest Son. New York, Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 363.

EDUCATION.

Necessity of Popular Education as a National Object. By Jas. Simpson. Boston, Marsh, Capen & Lyon. 12mo. pp. 362.

Recreations, Instructives et Amusantes, ou Choix D'Historiettes Morales. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins. 12mo. pp. 204.

Vie de George Washington, in French. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins. 18mo. pp. 317.

Levizaés French Grammar, improved and enlarged by A. Bolmar. Philadelphia. Cary, Hart, & Co. 12mo.

New and Simple Method of Teaching the French Grammar. New York. C. de Behr. 18mo.

First Guide to the Italian. By L. L. Da Ponte. New York. C. de Behr. 18mo.

Pinnock's Improved Edition of Goldsmith's History of England; to which is applied a Notation, &c. &c. By E. Porter, D. D. Andover, Gould & Newman. 12mo. $1.

The Intelligent Reader. Springfield. G. & C. Merriam. 12mo.

Peter Parley's Spelling Book, Boston. William D. Ticknor. 18mo. pp. 165. 20 cts.

The School-master's Friend, with the Committee-man's Guide, containing suggestions on Common Education, Modes of Teaching, Governing, &c. By Theodore Dwight, Jr. New York, Roe Lockwood. 18mo. pp. 360.

State of Education in Prussia. New York. Wiley & Long. 18mo.

HISTORY.

The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthagenians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Grecians and Macedonians, including a History of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients. By Charles Rollin. New York. George Dearborn. 2 vols. Royal 8vo.

A Winter in the West, by a New Yorker. New York. Harpers. 2 vols. 12mo.

History of Massachusetts for 200 years, from 1620 to 1820. By Alden Bradford. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 8vo. pp. 480.

Outlines of Ancient and Modern History, on a new plan. By Rev. Royal Robins. Hartford. Edward Hopkins. 12mo. pp. 470.

Campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte, including a History of his residence and death at St. Helena. Boston. Charles Gaylord. 8vo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUVENILE.

The Young Infidel Reclaimed. By Esther Hewlett. Boston. James Loring. 18mo. pp. 170.

The Family Story Book. By the Editors of the American Popular Library. Boston. John Allen & Co. 18mo. 2 vols.

The Sabbath Day Book. Boston. John Allen & Co. 18mo. pp. 230.

The Week Day Book. Boston. John Allen & Co. 18mo. pp. 230.

Letters to Ada, from her Brother in Law. New York. Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 190.

Recollections of a House-Keeper. By Mrs. Clarissa Packard. New York. Harpers. 18mo. pp. 155.

The Teacher's Present. Boston. Jos. Dowe. 18mo. pp. 208.

Lives of the Patriarchs, No. I. Abraham and Isaac. Boston. L. C. Bowles. 18mo. pp. 64.

Lives of the Patriarchs, No. II. Containing the lives of Jacob and Joseph. Boston. L. C. Bowles. 18mo. pp. 48.

Down the Hill. By Old Harlo. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 18mo.

Tales and Essays for Children. By Mrs. L. Sigourney. Hartford. F. J. Huntingdon. 18mo. pp. 127.

The Value of Time, a Tale for Children. By Mrs. Barwell. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 192.

The Value of Money. By Mrs. Barwell. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 167.

The Evergreen, or Stories for Childhood and Youth, with 20 Engravings. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 159.

The Child's Book on Intemperance, with Engravings. By Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. Boston. William Pierce. 18mo. pp. 109.

Memoir of Margaret and Henrietta Flower. Boston. Perkins, Marvin & Co. 18mo. pp. 72.

Peter Parley's Book of Fables. Hartford. Roderick White. 18mo. pp. 128.

Idle Hours Employed. New York. W. B. Gilley. 12mo. pp. 236.

Peter Parley's Picture Book. Philadelphia. P. T. Ash. 18mo. pp. 126.

Hieroglyphic Picture Bible, 400 cuts. New York. M. Day. 18mo. 37 cts.

The Persecuted Child, to which is added the Frightful Story. Cincinnati. Truman, Smith & Co. 18mo. 37 cts.

Temperance Facts and Interesting Anecdotes, for Sabbath Schools and Families. Boston. Light & Horton. 18mo. 25 cts.

Stories about General Warren, in relation to the fifth of March Massacre, and the Battle of Bunker Hill. By a Lady of Boston. Boston. James Loring. 18mo. pp. 112.

The Child's Daily Food. Prepared by a Father. Springfield. G. C. Merriam. 32mo. pp. 187.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAW.

Trial of John R. Buzzell, before the Supreme Judicial Court of Mass., for Arson and Burglary in the Ursuline Convent. Charlestown, Mass. Boston. Russell, Odiorne & Co. 8vo. pp. 103.

Trial of William Mason, Marvin Marcy, Jr., and Sargeant Blaisdell, charged with being concerned at the Riot at Charlestown. Boston. Allen & Co. 8vo.

Supplement to the Report of the Trial of Spanish Pirates, with the Confessions and Protests, written by them in prison. Boston. Lemuel Gulliver. 8vo. pp. 76.

A Practical Summary of the Law of Assignments in Trust for the benefit of Creditors, with an Appendix of Forms. By Joseph K. Angell. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 8vo.

The New England and New York Register, for 1835. By John Hayward. Boston. John Hayward. 12mo. pp. 264.

MEDICINE.

A Catechism of Medical Jurisprudence. By Stephen W. Williams, M. D. Northampton. J. H. Butler. 18mo. pp. 205.

A Practical Treatise on Medical Jurisprudence, with so much of Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology and the practice of Medicine and Surgery as are essential to be known by a private Gentleman. By J. Chitty, Esq. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 509.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Men and Manners in Great Britain, or a Bone to Gnaw for the Trollopes and Fidlers. By Grant Thorburn, Seedsman. New York. Wiley & Long. 12mo.

A Mother's Legacy to a Daughter. By a Lady. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle. 18mo. pp. 88.

A Comprehensive Atlas, Geographical, Historical and Commercial. By T. G. Bradford. Boston. W. D. Ticknor. 4to.

Letter to the Government of Harvard College on the proposed change of the Constitution of that Seminary. Boston. Russell, Odiorne & Co. 8vo.

An Enquiry into the accordancy of War, with the principles of Christianity. By T. S. Grimke. Philadelphia. L. Ashmead & Co. 12mo. pp. 230.

Political Reminiscences, including a sketch of the Origin and History of the Statesman's Party, Boston. Homer & Palmer. 12mo pp. 96.

Evan's Pocket Memoranda, for 1835. Lowell. Henry Evans. 18mo.

Sketches in Mount Auburn Cemetery. Boston. W. S. Pendleton. 4to.

Comedies and Tragedies. Philadelphia. Ray & Co. 12mo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Elements of Psychology, Translated from the French with an Introduction. Notes, additions, &c. By C. S. Henry. Hartford. Cooke & Co. 8vo. pp. 354.

History of the Arts of Design in the United States; with Biographical Notices of Artists, Essays, &c. New York. 8vo. 2 vols.

Manual of Parliamentary Practice, comprised originally for the Senate of the United States. By Thomas Jefferson. Philadelphia. Hogan & Thomson. 18mo. 50 cts.

Ancient Mineralogy; or an inquiry respecting the Mineral Substances mentioned by the Ancients. New York. G. & C. Carville & Co. 12mo. pp. 185. 75 cts.

The Constitutional Guide, comprising the Constitution of the United States. New York. 18mo. pp. 227. $1.

Influence of Moral Causes upon Opinions, Science and Literature. New York. 8vo. pamphlet.

Hawkin's Picture of Quebec, with Historical Recollections. Quebec. Neilson & Cowan. 12mo. pp. 477.

The Alexandrian, a republication of valuable Literary and Scientifical Works. New York. William Pearson. Vol. 1. No. 1. 12mo. pp. 32.

The Franklin Library of Modern Literature. New York. Wallis & Newell. 12mo. pp. 116.

Medea, a Tragedy of Seneca. In Latin. Edited by Charles Beck. Boston. Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 69.

The Ladies' Reticule Companion, or Little Lexicon of the English Language. New York. Harpers. 32mo. pp. 818.

Extracts from the Report of his Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws. Boston. Tuttle & Weeks. 12mo. pp. 83.

Ancient Mineralogy, or an Inquiry respecting Mineral substances mentioned by the ancients. By N. F. Moore LL. D. New York. G. & C. Carville & Co. 12mo. pp. 192.

Right Opposite, a Temperance Tale, founded on fact. Boston. Russell, Odiorne & Co. 18mo. pp. 64.

Swords's Pocket Almanac and Memorandum Book, for 1835. New-York. Swords, Stanford & Co. 24mo.

The Political Mirror, or Review of Jacksonism. New York. J. P. Peaslee. 18mo. pp. 315.

Horae Phrenologicæ, being three Phrenological Essays. 1. On Morality. 2. On the best means of obtaining Happiness. 3. On Veneration. Boston. Marsh, Capen & Lyon. 12mo. pp. 96.

New England and her Institutions. By one of her Sons. Boston. John Allen & Co. 12mo. pp. 271.

Domesticated Animals considered with reference to Civilization and the Arts. Allen & Co. 18mo. pp. 268.

A Series of Studies in Drawing. By William Hunt. Boston. J. B. Dow. 4to.

NOVELS AND TALES.

Father Butler, or a Sketch of Irish Manners. Philadelphia. Thomas Latimer. 18mo. pp. 218.

Stephen Moreland, a novel. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle. 2 vols. 12mo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sephora, a Hebrew Tale. Worcester. C. Harris. 12mo. pp. 254.

Tales of the Border. By James Hall. Philadelphia. Harrison Hall. 12mo. pp. 276.

Allen Prescot, or the Fortunes of a New England Boy. New York. Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo.

Rombert, a Tale of Carolina. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 2 vols. 12mo.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

An Address delivered at the Inauguration of the Faculty of Bristol College. Penn. April 2. 1834. By Rev. Chauncy Colton, A. M. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle. 8vo. pp. 55.

An Old Sailor's Yarns. By N. Ames. New York. George Dearborn. 12mo. pp. 388.

The Cavaliers of Virginia. New York. Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo.

POETRY.

Poems by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle. 18mo. pp. 288.

Hamlet, a Dramatic Prelude, in five acts. By James Rush, M. D. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle. 12mo. pp. 122.

Posthumous Poems of the Rev. George Crabbe, edited by his Son. Philadelphia, Carey, Lea & Co. 12mo. pp. 297.

THEOLOGY.

A Sermon on the Political Tendency of Popery. By Rev. A. Stevens. Boston. David H. Ela. 8vo.

The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testament, arranged in paragraphs and parallelism. By T. W. Coit, D. D. Cambridge. Monson & Grant. 12mo. pp. 1180.

Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism. By Rev. I. B. White. Boston. William Peirce. 12mo. pp. 284.

A Sermon preached at Plymouth, in commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims. By Rev. Mr. Blagden. Boston. Light & Horton. 8vo.

Early Piety, a Sermon. By. Rev. J. Abbot. New York. J. S. Taylor. 32mo.

The Genuine Epistles of St. Clement, St. Polycarp, St. Ignatius and St. Barnabas. Translated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hartford. Parsons & Mills. 8vo. pp. 501.

Letters on the Roman Catholic Controversy. By W. C. Brownlee, D. D., with a portrait. New York. 12mo. $1 50.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistle to the Romans. New York. Leavitt, Lord & Co. 12mo. pp. 330. 75 cts.

The portion of the Soul, or Thoughts on its Attributes and Tendencies as indicating its Destiny. Philadelphia. H. Perkins. 18mo.

The Primitive Creed examined and explained. By J. H. *Hopkins*, D. D., Burlington. Edward Smith. 12mo. pp. 415.

Parental Responsibility and Parental Solicitude, two Discourses. By John Knox, D. D. New York. 8vo. pamphlet. 25 cts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Words of a Believer. Translated from the French of F. de la Mennais. New York. C. D. Behr. 18mo. 50 cts.

The God of Glory, or a Guide to the Doubting. By Robert Philip. New York. John Wiley. 18mo. pp. 216.

China and the English, or the Character and Manners of the Chinese. New York. Leavitt, Lord & Co. 18mo. pp. 264.

Evidences of Christianity. By Alexander, Watson, &c. Philadelphia. Kay & Co. 2 vols. 18mo.

New Haven Theology, alias Taylorism, alias Neology in its own Language; with Notes appended. By the Rev. Daniel Dow. 18mo. pp. 58.

Essays on the Principles of Morality. By Jonathan Dymond, with a Preface by Rev. George Bush. New York. Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 432.

Prayers adapted to the various occasions of Social Worship. By Bishop A. V. Griswold. Philadelphia. William Marshall. 12mo. pp. 186.

A Sermon on War. By Rev. W. E. Channing. Boston. Homer & Palmer. 8vo.

Christian Ethics; or Moral Philosophy on the Principles of Divine Revelation. By Ralph Wardlaw, D. D. Boston. William Pierce. 12mo.

A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of Manning Hall, at the Chapel and Library of Brown University. February 4th, 1835. By Francis Wayland, D. D. Providence.

Scenes and Characters illustrating Christian Truth, No. I. Trial and Self Discipline. By author of "James Talbot." Boston. J. Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp 100.

Prayers for the use of Families, or the Domestic Minister's Assistant. By William Jay. Salem, Mass. Henry Whipple. 12mo. pp. 363.

Sober Thoughts on the State of the Times, addressed to the Unitarian Community. Boston. Isaac R. Butts. 12mo pp. 66.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Letters to a Gentleman in Germany. Written after a trip from Philadelphia to Niagara. Edited by Francis Lieber. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 356.

Journal of a Residence in China, and the neighboring Country, from 1829 to 1833. By Rev. David Abeel. New York. Harpers. 12mo.

Journal of a Cruise in the United States Frigate Potomac, round the World, in 1831—34. By Francis Warringer, A. M. New York. Leavitt, Lord & Co. 12mo.

Narrative of Excursions, Voyages and Travels, performed at different Times in America, Europe, Asia and Africa. By George Rapelje, Esq. New York. West & Trow. 8vo. pp. 413.

AMERICAN EDITIONS OF FOREIGN WORKS.

The Beauties of the Court of Charles the 2d, a Series of Memoirs, Biographical and Critical. By Mrs. Jameson. Boston. W. D. Ticknor. 8vo. pp. 304.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

France, Social, Political and Literary. By Henry L. Bulwer, M. P. New York. Harpers. 2 vols. 12mo.

Rookwood, a Romance. By W. H. Ainsworth. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Young Muscovite, or Poles in Russia. Edited by Capt. F Chamier, R. N. New York. Harpers. 2 vols. 12mo.

Tylney Hall. By Thomas Hood. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Young Ladies Book of Piety. New York. Leavit, Lord & Co. 18mo. pp. 275.

Barbauld's Lessons for Children. New York. Mahlon Day. 18mo. 44 cts.

Life and Writings of the Rev. George Herbert, with the Synagogue, in imitation of Herbert. Lowell, Mass. George Woodward. 12mo. pp. 448.

Family Prayers. By William Wilbeforce. New York. Swords, Stanford & Co. 18mo. 25 cts.

Mrs. Sherwood's Works. Vol. 8. New York. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 430.

The Princess, or the Beguine. By Lady Morgan. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

Leaves from my Log Book. By Smuggett. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Co. 12mo.

The Adventures of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, Pic Nic, and other Tales. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 206.

The Coquette. By the author of Miserrimus. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart. 3 vols. 12mo.

Redemption, or the New Song in Heaven, the test of duty and truth on earth. By Robert Philip. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 18mo. pp. 216.

Philip Von Artevelde, a Dramatic Romance in Parts. By Henry Taylor, Esq. Boston. J. Munroe & Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

Real Dialogues on the Evidence of Christianity, from "Death Bed Scenes." New York. Leavitt, Lord & Co. 18mo. pp. 270.

The Unfortunate Man. By Capt. Chamier, R. N. New York. Harpers. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Mayor of Wind Gap. By the author of Tales of the O'Hara Family. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1 vol. 12mo.

Life of the Emperor Napoleon. By H. Lee. New York. C. De Behr. 4 vols. 8vo.

Cavendish, or the Patrician at Sea. By the author of Will Watch. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Rebel and other Tales, &c, in Prose and in Verse, including the hitherto uncollected Writings of the author of "Pelham." New York. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 236.

The Gentleman in Black, a Novel. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Co. 12mo.

The Autobiography of Jack Ketch. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Co. 12mo. pp. 281.

The Insurgents, an Historical Novel. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDEX

TO THE

FORTIETH VOLUME

OF THE

North-American Review.

A.

Adams, John, Mr. Webster's Eulogy of, quoted, 229.

Addresses, Public, their number and value in this country, 413.

Africa, interest excited by Petrarch's poem on, 6. — Burckhardt's Travels in, reviewed, 477.

Agrippina, her dealing with Locusta, in order to destroy Claudius, 32.

Aids to Reflection, Coleridge's, materials which they furnish for a moral system, 331.

Alexander the Great, anecdote of, 29.

Alexander VI., Pope, his fate, 35.

America, fitness of its history and scenery for the purposes of romance, 232.

American History, of works relating to, 99.

Antiquity, its hold upon our sympathies, 447.

Apollo Belvidere, impression derived from contemplating the, 426.

Aqua della Toffana, account of, 35.

Arabs, Rüppell's account of the, in Dongola, 502.

Arbaces, delineation of his character, in the Last Days of Pompeii, 451.

Architecture, Coleridge's view of the distinction between the Grecian and Gothic, 315.

Ardent Spirits, benefit of a tax upon, 139.

Art, influence of the objects of, in Italy, 440.

Association for the disposal of emigrants in this country, its formation recommended, 475.

Astronomy, of the researches and discoveries of, 375.

Aulus Gellius, tradition of, relative to Regulus, 33.

Austin, Miss, her translation of Cousin's report, 512.

Austria, Emperor of, Louis Philippe's letter to, announcing his accession, alluded to, 277 — her power in Italy, 439.

B.

Babel, Karen account of the dispersion at, 397.

Bancroft, George, his history of the United States, reviewed, 99 — excellence of his account of Roger Williams, 102 — the account quoted, 108 — his vindication of Williams from the charge of unsoundness of intellect, quoted, 109 — difficulties arising from his election

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the people of Salem as their teacher, 110 — excellence of his work, 115.
Banks, Dr. Rae's preference for the Scotch, 140.
Bathing, proper mode of, 360.
Beckmann, John, his history of inventions, reviewed, 27.
Berber, Burckhardt's account of the inhabitants of, 485 — particulars relating to their dress, appearance and manners, 486.
Bible, remark of Coleridge on the, quoted, 309.
Bichat, resemblance between his character and intellect, and those of Dr. Godman, 96.
Biographia Literaria, Coleridge's, quoted, 300 — its conclusion, quoted, 323.
Biography, American, number and value of works relating to, 411.
Black Hawk, Life of, reviewed, 68 — its character and authenticity, 69 — his birth and early life, 70 — his exploits in conflict with the Osages, 71 — anecdote, illustrative of his magnanimity, 73 — origin of the difficulties between his tribes and the United States, 74 — joins the British with his tribe during the last war, 76 — immediate cause of his hostility towards the United States, 77 — death of his son, 79 — ignorantly signs the treaty with the United States, 80 — his lands seized and sold, 81 — his council with General Gaines, 82 — beginning of his recent warfare, 83 — disasters of the campaign, 84.
Boardman, G. D., his biography, reviewed, 376 — his early devotion to the cause of learning, 378 — enters the college at Waterville, 379 — makes a public profession of religion, 380 — is anxious to devote himself to the missionary cause, 381, — becomes a tutor in the college at Waterville, 382 — is employed as a missionary, and separates from his friends at Waterville, 383 — resides for a time at Andover, 384 — sails for Calcutta, 384 — resides there till the termination of the Burman war, 387 — arrives at Maulmein in Burmah, 389 — difficulties attending his residence there, 390 — dangers from fire, 393 — removes to Tavoy, 394 — becomes acquainted with the Karens, 395 — their attachment to him, 399 — establishes a school for them, 401 — proceeds to visit their country, 403 — difficulty from an insurrection in Tavoy, 405 — his death, 408 — and epitaph, 409.
Book, curious account of the worship of a, by the Karens, 400.
Bossuet, his conduct at the death of Henrietta of England, 45 — his funeral oration at her death, quoted, 47.
Boswell, his peculiar style of biography, 152.
Brinvilliers, Marchioness, account of, 51 — acquires and practises the art of poisoning, 52 — her execution, 53 — and personal beauty, 54.
Bruhl, account of the Normal school at, 525.
Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau, reviewed, 352.
Bulwer, E. L., his Last Days of Pompeii, reviewed, 447 — moral influence of his works, 454 — contrasted with Scott, 455.
Burckhardt, J. L., his travels in Africa, reviewed, 477 — his preparations for his expedition, and its extent, 478 — his death, 479.
Burke, Edmund, allusion to his character, 300 — secret of the power of his writings, 310.
Burmah, war between the English and, in 1825, 386 — American mission in, broken up, 387.
Byron, his apostrophe to Italy in Childe Harold, quoted, 179, — his description of the tomb of Cecilia Metella, quoted, 429.

C.

Cæsar Borgia, his fate, 35.
Calavar, romance of, reviewed, 232 — analysis of, 233, et seq. — construction of its plot, 255 — its description of character, 256 — general power of description exhibited in, 258.
Campbell, Sir Archibald, his generous conduct towards the missionaries in Burmah, 388.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Campbell, Thomas, his remark concerning Collins, 318.
Canidia, Horace's description of, quoted, 32.
Canzoniere, character of Petrarch's, 11 — its peculiar merits, 13.
Capitol, a visit to the Roman, 419.
Capuchin Convent in Rome, objects of interest in the, 424.
Carlists, French, of the party of, 286 — its feebleness, 287.
Carter's Mountain, Mr. Rayner's explanation of Mr. Jefferson's alleged flight to, quoted, 216.
Casimir Perier, erroneous impression as to his agency in sustaining the *juste milieu* system in France, 274 — beginning of his administration, 279.
Cecilia Metella, visit to the tomb of, 429.
Chalmers, Dr., difference in intellectual character between Coleridge and, 316.
Chambre Ardente, instituted for the punishment of poisoners, 54.
Chaplin, Dr., his account of the character of G. D. Boardman in early life, 379.
China, trial for murder in, 62.
Chinese Repository, its account of the execution of an Italian sailor at Canton, 58.
Cicero, Petrarch's editing of a portion of his writings, 25.
Civilization, its progress distinctly marked, in the increased tenderness for human life, 28.
Cælebs, the least successful of Hannah More's writings, 169.
Coke, Lord, his views of the crime of poisoning, 39.
Coleridge, S. T., his Friend, reviewed, 299 — nobleness of his character, 300 — his readiness to admit the merit of others, 301 — his change of views on the subject of religion, 302 — his afflictions, 304 — his Meditative Poems quoted, 306 — excellence of the Friend, 308 — his view of the works of Burke, 310 — his principle of criticism, 312 — his power of illustration, 313 — his acquaintance with the exact sciences, 314 — of his conversation, 315 — contrast between him and Chalmers, 316 — his plan of a dictionary, 317 — of his alleged obscurity, 318 — his system of philosophy a Christian one, 328 — of his poetry, 343 — his distinguishing qualities as a poet, 344 — his Wallenstein, quoted, 346.
Coliseum, impressions of a visit to the, in Rome, 430.
Collins, Campbell's remark concerning, 318.
Colman, Mr., brief account of his career as a missionary, and of his fate, 331.
Commemorations, propensity for, in this country, 410.
Communeros, Spanish, alluded to, 179.
Confessions of an Opium Eater, quoted, 327.
Constitution, British, reverence of the people for the, 296.
Cortes, description of, from the romance of Calavar, quoted, 236.
Cotton, Rev. Mr., his success in preaching on the veils of the Salem ladies, 103.
Cousin, his definition of greatness, vindicated, 204 — his report of public instruction in Prussia, reviewed, 511 — his efforts in the cause of education, 512.
Cowper, of the manner in which his biography should be written, 152.
Cowpland, Captain, his conduct with respect to one of his sailors, charged with murder, at Canton, 60.
Criticism, Coleridge's principles of, 312.
Crocodile, Rüppell's account of the mode of capturing the, in Dongola, 505.

D.

D'Ancre, Marechale, anecdote of the, 207.
Declaration of Independence, American, its literary merit, 205.
Dejection, Coleridge's Ode on, quoted, 304.
Dictionary, plan suggested by Coleridge of a, 317.
Discourses, Public, their frequency and value in this country, 413.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dixon, Col., his success in inducing Black Hawk to join the British standard, 79.
Dongola, Rüppell's account of the people of, 502.

E.

Education, complaint of English, and its real character, 365 — the subject of popular, treated, 511.
Egypt, of slavery in, 495.
Emigrants, their influence upon our social character, 459 — annual number of, into this country, 460.
England, legislation of, on the subject of poisoning, 32 — punishment provided for it by statute in, 37.
Excursion, Wordsworth's, Coleridge's account of the author's recitation of, 305.
Exili, his skill in the art of poisoning, 52.
Europe, politics of, treated, 269.

F.

Fabius Maximus, Q., his dealing with the poisoners, 31.
Fairfield, his charge of plagiarism against Bulwer, noticed, 453.
Familiar Letters on Public Characters, erroneous views of Mr. Jefferson, contained in the, 178.
Fayette, Madame de la, her account of the last moments of Henrietta of England, 46.
Federalists, and their alleged sympathy with England, 211.
Female Character in Modern Italy, 437.
Feuillet, Abbe, his treatment of Henrietta of England, in her last moments, 45.
Flowers, aversion of the people of modern Rome to, 434.
Foreign Influence in this country, in the time of the old parties, 210.
Forman, Dr., his dealing with the poisoners, 43.
Fox Indians, their union with the Sacs, 70 — warfare with the Osages, 71 — origin of their controversy with the United States, 72.
France, account of poisoning in, 45 — progressive revolution in, 270 — changes already accomplished in, 272.
Franklin, Dr. Richard, his proficiency in poisoning, 43.
French Revolution, just views of its character, 189 — its connexion with our own, 196 — its real result, 271.
Friend, Coleridge's, reviewed, 299.

G.

Garrick, David, his friendship for Hannah More, 155 — power of his acting, 157.
Geology, refutation of the notion, that its researches and discoveries are hostile to religion, 374.
German Emigrants, their general character, 467.
Germans their courteous demeanor in society, 358.
Germany, abundance of watering places in, 352.
Gibbon, grandeur of his great work, 115.
Gisquet, prefect of French police, his character, 281.
Godman, Dr., Memoir of, reviewed, 87 — his birth and early history, 89 — enters into the medical profession, 90 — his skill and success as a lecturer, 91 — becomes professor at Rutgers's Medical College, 92 — his death, and his writings, 93 — his work on Natural History, 94 — merit of the work, 95 — his resemblance to Bichat, 96 — his great excellence as a teacher of anatomy, 98.
Grahame, his account of Roger Williams in his history, compared with that of Bancroft, 102.
Greatness, Cousin's definition of, vindicated, 204.
Guillotin, Dr., his fate, 33.

H.

Harleian Miscellany, account of Mrs. Turner, quoted from the, 44.
Hayley, his life of Cowper noticed, 152.
Henrietta of England, is poisoned, — account of her death, 45 — Bossuet's eulogy upon her, 48 — Voltaire's account of the mode in which she was said to have been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

destroyed, 49 — his account of her voyage to England, just before her death, 50.
Hippopotamus, Rüppell's account of the mode of hunting the, in Dongola, 506.
Historical Novelists, requisites for the, 255.
Historical Societies, number and value of the publications by, 412.
History, requisites in the writer of, 100 — character of classical, 101 philosophical, how to be written, 116.
Holmes, Rev. Dr., value of his American Annals, 411.
Holy Alliance, view of the origin of, quoted from Words of a Believer, 290.
Horace, his description of Canidia, quoted, 32.
Horses, how harnessed for draught in various countries, 359.
Humboldt, Baron, his observations respecting the population of Great Britain, 468.
Hunchback, character and plot of Knowles's play of the, 146.
Hurricane, Burckhardt's account of a, in the desert, 499.

I.

Immigration, importance of the subject in this country, 458 — its annual and increasing amount, 460.
Indians, cause of their hostility towards our countrymen, 73 — manner in which their lands are usually acquired by the whites, 75.
Indian Warrior, characteristic qualities of an, 71 — occasional chivalry of the, 73.
Inventors rarely secure the benefit of their inventions, 133.
Ismail Pacha, his massacre at Shendy in Egypt, 504.
Ireland, vast amount of emigration from, into England, 468.
Irish Emigrants, their peculiar character, 467.
Italian Poetry, sketch of its early progress, 21.
Italy, Petrarch's Address to, quoted, 20 — circumstances which give it a peculiar claim on attention, 417, et seq. — its present prospects, 439.

J.

Jefferson, Mr., his character examined, 170 — Rayner's biography of, its character, 171 — just views of his political course, 174 — vindication of his course and principles in reference to the French Revolution, 190 — and in reference to the faults of Napoleon, 191 — conformity of his policy to the spirit of the age, 202 — style of his writings, 205 — causes of his influence, 206 — his revision of the laws of Virginia, 208 — of his alleged sympathy with France, 210 — of the charge that he was the author of nullification, 213 — as to the charge of timidity, 215 — of the flight to Carter's Mountain, 216 — description of his residence, 218 — Mr. Webster's eulogy of, quoted, 226.
Jews, their probable identity with the Karens, 396.
Johnson, Dr., his remark relative to physicians, 87 — his intimacy with Hannah More, 156.
Johnston, William, his translation of Beckmann's Inventions, reviewed, 27.
Judson, Mrs., allusion to her history, 388.
Jupiter Stator, ruins of the temple of, 419.
Juste Milieu System in France, some account of the, 274 — its triumph over the opposition, 279 — examination of the arguments in favor of the, 283.
Juvenal, his account of a Roman poison, 34.

K.

Karens, curious account of the, 395 — their traditions, 396 — their veneration for a mysterious volume, 400.
Keats, brief allusion to his history and death, 433.
Kentucky Resolutions, Mr. Jefferson's, their real force and character, 213.
Keokuck, his intrigues to supplant Black Hawk, 81.
Knowles, Sheridan, his works reviewed, 141 — some particulars of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his early life, 143 — character of his William Tell, 144 — account of his Hunchback, 145 — inadequateness of his compensation as an author, 150.
Koch-brunnen, description of the, at Wiesbaden, 373.
Ko-thah-byoo, his conversion and zeal, 402.

L.

Labat, Father, his account of the aqua Toffana, 36.
Lafayette, hostility of the government of Louis Philippe to the principles of, 278 — his noble character, 282.
Lafayette, G. W., his letter to the President of the United States, quoted, 195, *note*.
Lafitte, causes of his resignation as prime minister of France, 278.
La Martine, his Ode to Napoleon, quoted, 193.
Langenschwalbach, its sulphur and chalybeate springs, 355 — baths of, 358.
Last Days of Pompeii, Bulwer's, reviewed, 447 — an outline of its story, 450.
Last Night of Pompeii, Fairfield's, noticed, 453.
Laura, Petrarch's passion for, 4.
La Vendeé, termination of the revolutionary movements in, 282.
La Voisin, curious imposture of, 54 — her fate, 56.
Leicester, Earl of, his proficiency in the art of poisoning, and murder of his wife, 39 — part of the festivities at his bridal, 40 — murders Lord Sheffield, and marries his widow, and destroys the Earl of Essex, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and the Earl of Sussex, 41.
Leuestein, Princess, sketch of the, 358.
Liberty, American, its dangers suggested, 298.
Life, increased tenderness for, 29.
Literature of the present day, its character, 457.
Locke, defect of his intellectual system, 336.
Locusta, her mode of destroying Claudius by poison, 32 — destroys Britannicus also, at the command of Nero, 33.
Louis Philippe, character of his system of policy, 273 — his skill as a statesman, exhibited in his maintenance of the *juste milieu* system, 275 — mode in which he obtained the throne, 276 — his hostility to liberal principles, 277 — his abandonment of the Spanish Refugees, and dissolution of his first cabinet, 278 — his exposition of his system of policy, 279 — his treatment of the Polish patriots, 280 — his position immediately after the revolution of July, 288.
Luxembourg, Marshal, his trial for poisoning, 56.

M.

Madison, Mr., his views of the character of the Kentucky Resolutions, 214.
Magna Charta, its true character and effect, 186.
Maison, Marshal, his letter to M. Sebastiani, quoted, 279.
Man, his migratory disposition, 458.
Martyn, Henry, effect of the reading of his memoirs on Mr. Boardman, 377.
Marx, Dr., his work on poison, reviewed, 27.
Mason, Mr., his account of the Karens, 395.
Massachusetts Legislature, their action, on the subject of education, 513.
Maulmein, residence of Mr. Boardman in the city of, 389.
Medici, Lorenzo de', revival of the taste for Italian poetry under, 21.
Medicine, Marx's work on poisons, as connected with, 27.
Meditative Poems, Coleridge's quoted, 306.
Memoirs of George D. Boardman, reviewed, 376.
Mennais, Abbé de la, his Words of a Believer, reviewed, 269 — his change of sentiment within a few years, 270 — his view of the origin of monarchies, 289 — his view of the Holy Alliance, 290.
Messiah, expectation of the, among the Karens, 398.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexico, Romance of, reviewed, 232 — conquest of, its adaptation to the purposes of romance, 233 — description of the valley of the city of, quoted from Calavar, 245 — departure of the Spaniards from the city of, 250.
Meyrefab, Burckhardt's account of the, 485.
Michael Angelo, statue of Moses by, its excellence, 424.
Missions, extent and variety of the literature of Christian, 376.
Mitford, character of his History of Greece, 101.
Modena, Duke of, returns unopened the letter of Louis Philippe, announcing his accession, 277.
Molière, his sarcasm on physicians, 88.
Mohammed Ali, state of Egypt under the government of, 504.
Monarchy, views of the origin of, quoted from Words of a Believer, 289.
Montesquieu, his view of the cause of the decline of Roman liberty, 463.
Montezuma, death of, quoted from the romance of Calavar, 247.
Monticello, Rayner's description of Mr. Jefferson's residence at, quoted, 218.
Montmorency-Boutteville, is accused of poisoning, 56 — charges brought against him, 56.
Moore, Thomas, his Irish melodies, quoted, 182, note.
More, Hannah, Roberts's Life and Correspondence of, reviewed, 151 — of her early life, 153 — of some of her early friends, 154 — her first visit to London, and her reception there, 155 — friendship of Johnson for, 156—impression made on, by Garrick's acting, 157 — reception of her tragedy of Percy, 158 — Horace Walpole's friendship for, 159 — removes to Cowslip-green, 161 — interest taken by, in the abolition of the slave trade, 162 — her Thoughts on the Manners of the Great, 163 — her labors for the education of the poor, 164 — success of her scheme, 165 — prejudices excited against her, 166 — her Village Politics, and its success, 167 — her liberality of feeling, 168 — her death, 169.
Murat, his Sketch of the United States, quoted, 464.
Music, its power in expressing emotion, 443.

N.

Napoleon, his true character, 192 — La Martine's, Ode to, quoted, 193.
National Debt, English, remark of Coleridge on the, 309.
National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, reviewed, 409 — elegant style of its execution, 413.
Natural History, character of Dr. Godman's work on, 95.
Nassau, Mineral Springs of, 352.
Neider-Selters, description of the brunnen of, 366.
Neiderwald, sketch from an excursion to the, quoted, 369.
Nero, compels Locusta to destroy Britannicus, 33.
New England, effect of the protecting policy in, 128.
New York, its laws to prevent the introduction of foreign paupers, 472.
New-York, plan for the education of teachers in, 535.
Normal Schools, account of their origin, 514 — plan of instruction in the, 523.
Non-Intervention Party in France, constitution and principles of the, 286.
Nubia, Burckhardt's and Rüppell's Travels in, reviewed, 477— descent and institutions of the people of, 480 — account of their appearance, dress and manners, 481.
Nullification, inquiry as to its origin, 213.

O.

Opera, of the moral influence of the, in Italy, 442.
Osage Indians, their warfare with the Sacs and Foxes, 71.
Otumba, part of the description of the battle of, quoted from Calavar, 251.
Overbury, Sir Thomas, poisoning of, 37 — some account of the legal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proceedings against his murderers, 42 — poisons administered to him, 43.

P.

Padilla, Juan de, his struggle for liberty, 180 — his last letters, 181, 182.

Pagan Mythology, its imposing character, even in decline, 452.

Panini, views of Rome by, noticed, 421, *note*.

Paley, Dr., Coleridge's views respecting, 301.

Parr, Dr., his testimony respecting the general character of physicians, 89.

Parties in France, how constituted subsequently to the revolution of July, 287.

Parysatis, anecdote of queen, 30.

Pauline Brunnen, account of the, 356.

Paupers, transportation of British, to this country, 471.

Payson, Dr., remark concerning his conversation, 315.

Penal Code, character of the modern Roman, 435.

Pendleton, Mr., his share in the revision of the laws of Virginia, 209.

Percy, Hannah More's tragedy of, its reception, 158.

Persians, their uncommon skill in poisoning, 30.

Petrarch, view of the life and writings of, 1 — banishment of his father from Florence, 2 — his birth and early fondness for literature, 3 — of his passion for Laura, 4 — establishes himself at Vaucluse, 5 — interest excited by his poem on Africa, 6 — his coronation at the capitol in Rome, and other honors bestowed on him, 7 — his political employments, 8 — his habits of life, 9 — his death, 10 — account of his Canzoniere, 11 — purity of his taste and language, 13 — translation of one of his sonnets, 14 — one of the odes of the Canzoniere, translated, 15 — his poetical address to Italy, quoted and translated, 20 — inferiority of his Trionfi to his odes, 22 — his fondness for Latin literature, 23 — his diligent research for, and copying of the ancient classics, 24 — his fondness for history, 25 — his proficiency in Greek literature, 26.

Physicians, injustice and uncertainty in the public estimate of, 87 — qualifications of, 88 — Dr. Parr's testimony respecting, 89.

Plato, Coleridge's remark on the obscurity of, 319 — Coleridge's translation of a passage in, 321.

Plato, Cousin's translation of, noticed, 512.

Poisoning, comparative rarity of, in modern times, 29 — excellence of the Persians in the art of, 30 — becomes a subject of judicial inquiry in Rome, 30.

Poisons, Dr. Marx's doctrine of, reviewed, 27—Beckmann's work relating to, also reviewed, 27 — difficulty of ascertaining the composition of the ancient, 34.

Poland, hostility of the government of Louis Philippe to the revolution in, 280.

Political Economy, Rae's, reviewed, 122.

Pompeii, Last Days of, reviewed, 447.

Ponte Molle, description of the prospect from the, in Rome, 428.

Pon-ue, trial for murder before a Chinese, 61.

Poor, labors of Hannah More for the instruction of the, 164.

Pope, Alexander, his remark respecting physicians, 89 — Coleridge's view of his poetical excellence, 313.

Pope, of the temporal dominion of the, and the extravagance of the present, 435.

Potzdam, Cousin's account of the school in, for the instruction of teachers, 513.

Principles, Coleridge's view of the importance of, 310.

Protecting Policy, Dr. Rae's view of the doctrine of, quoted, 126 — its operation in New England, 128.

Providence, foundation of the city of, by Roger Williams, 113.

Prussia, Cousin's report on the state of education in, reviewed, 511 — organization of the Normal schools of, 516.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Psychological Philosopher, peculiar difficulties which he has to encounter, 320.

Q.

Quarterly Review, London, its account of the execution of an Italian sailor at Canton, refuted, 58.

R.

Rae, John, his Political Economy, reviewed, 122 — character of the work, 123 — points of difference, between his system and that of Adam Smith, 124 — his statement of the doctrine of the protecting policy, 125.

Raphael, beauty of his frescos in the Vatican, 426.

Rayner, B. L., his Life of Jefferson, reviewed, 170.

Regulus, tradition relative to his treatment by the Carthaginians, 34.

Religion, its natural and just connexion with politics, 297.

Remarks on an Article in the July No. N. A. Review for 1834, reviewed, 170 — acrimonious spirit displayed in the, 171 — comments in, on the N. A. Review, examined, 172 — their historical inaccuracy, 177.

Revolution of July, French, lessons which it taught to the legitimate monarchs of Europe, 284.

Reynolds, J. N., curious fact related by, 375.

Rhine, passage up the, quoted from Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau, 352 — scene on the banks of the, 370.

Ricardo, his view of the remedy for the evils of Ireland, 470.

Roberts, William, his Life of Hannah More, reviewed, 151 — defects in the execution of the work, 152.

Robsart, Amy, historical account of, 39.

Romance, fitness of the conquest of Mexico for the purposes of, 233.

Rome, when poisoning became a subject of judicial inquiry in, 30 — remarkable instance of the extreme to which it was carried in, 31 — becomes more common, after the overthrow of the Republic, 31 — empire of, its occupation by the barbarians, 130.

Rüppell, Dr., his Residence in Nubia, reviewed, 477 — brief account of his history, 500.

Russia, what would have been the effect upon, of a menacing attitude on the part of France, after the revolution of July, 284.

S.

Sac Indians, some particulars of the history of the, 70 — origin of their difficulties with the United States, 72.

Sainte Croix, his proficiency in the art of poisoning, 52 — curious tradition relating to his fate, 53.

Salem, disfranchisement of the town of, for electing Roger Williams as a teacher, 110.

Sallust, visit to the gardens of, 427.

Sand, Burckhardt's account of the whirlwinds of, in Africa, 498.

Saumarez, Coleridge's opinion of, 341.

Schlangenbad, description of the, 361

Scipios, visit to the tomb of the, 420.

Scott, Sir Walter, what he has done for the scenery of his country, 259.

Seltzer Water, description of its source, 366.

Septimius Severus, of the triumphal arch of, 419.

Serpent's Bath at Nassau, described, 362.

Sewall, Dr., his memoir of Dr. Godman, reviewed, 87.

Shelley, interest attached to his memory, 433.

Silvio Pellico, neglect of his work by the liberal party in France, 293.

Simoom, Burckhardt's account of the, 497.

Slave Market, account of the extent of the, in Africa, 489.

Slave Trade, interest taken by Hannah More in the abolition of the, 162.

Smith, Adam, difference between his system of political economy and that of Dr. Rae, 124.

Sogene in Arabia, account of the, 508.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soissons, Countess de, is accused of poisoning, and flies from France, 55.
Sonnets, specimens of Petrarch's, 14.
Souakin, Burckhardt's account of the people of, 488.
Southey, Robert, Coleridge's remark concerning, 301.
Spaniards, conquest of Mexico by the, its fitness for the purposes of romance, 233.
Spanish Refugees, abandonment of, by the government of Louis Philippe, 278.
Spiritual World, reason of its obscurity to minds in general, 326.
Stael, Madame de, remark by, on music, quoted, 445, *note*.
St. Angelo, of the castle of, in Rome, 425.
St. Mery, of the insurrection in, 281.
St. Peter's, account of a visit to, 421.
St. Pietro in Vinculi, beauty of the church of, in Rome, 423.
Striez, his success as a conductor of the school at Potzdam, 513.
Suffrage, consequence of a too ready admission of foreigners to the right of, 462.
Sussex, Earl of, is poisoned by the Earl of Leicester, his dying warning, 41.

T.

Tavoy, brief account of, and residence of Mr. Boardman in, 395 — insurrection, in, 405.
Terranova, Francisco, account of his execution for murder at Canton, 58.
Theophrastus, his account of the most fatal poison in ancient times, 30.
Toffana, her skill in poisoning, 35 — her repute and tragical fate, 36.
Trionfi, character of Petrarch's, 22.
Ts'heikkoo, conversion of the village of, to the Christian faith, 407.
Turner, Anne, her share in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, 42 — account of her, and her poisons, 43 — her execution, and account of her personal attractions, 44.
Tuscan Family, impressions received from a residence in a, 437.

U.

Understanding, imperfection of the powers of the, and of the philosophy, constructed under its guidance, 333.
United States, Bancroft's History of, reviewed, 99.

V.

Vatican, various objects of interest in the museum of the, 425.
Village Politics, success of Hannah More's, 167.
Virginia, part taken by Mr. Jefferson in the revision of the laws of, 209.
Virtuoso, account of a, at Nassau, quoted, 363.
Vocal Music, its extraordinary excellence in Italy, 444.
Voltaire, his account of the mode in which Henrietta of England is said to have been poisoned, 48 — his account of her voyage to England, just before her death, 50.

W.

Wallenstein, Coleridge's, quoted, 346, 347.
Walpole, Horace, his regard for Hannah More, 159.
Watchman, Coleridge's account of his publication of the, quoted, 302.
Water, consumption of, in travelling in the desert, 500.
Watering Places, abundance of, in Germany, 352.
Waterville College, account of Mr. Boardman's residence at the, 379.
Webster, Mr., his eulogy on Mr. Jefferson, quoted, 226.
Wedgewoods, Messrs., assistance rendered by, to Coleridge, 302.
Weisbaden, description of, 372.
Wife, account of Knowles's drama of the, 148.
Wildmen of Tavoy, curious account of the, 395.
William Tell, character of Knowles' drama of, 144.
Williams, Roger, Bancroft's account of, compared with that of Grahame, 102 — inadequate estimate generally formed of his merit, 103 — Hutchinson's view of him, 104 —

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grahame's account of his schism, quoted, 105 — Bancroft's account, quoted, 108 — Salem disfranchised for electing him a teacher, 110 — his banishment, 112 — his personal character, 114.
Words of a Believer, Abbé de la Mennais', reviewed, 269 — its religious character, 293.
Words of a Seer, its infidelity, 298.
Wordsworth, his Excursion alluded to, 305.
Wyeth, Chancellor, his revision of the laws of Virginia, 209.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED